

8-1-1959

The Palimpsest, vol.40 no.8, August 1959

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Recommended Citation

"The Palimpsest, vol.40 no.8, August 1959." *The Palimpsest* 40 (1959).

Available at: <https://ir.uiowa.edu/palimpsest/vol40/iss8/1>

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The **PALIMPSEST**



OLD MAIN, LUTHER COLLEGE

THE NORWEGIANS IN IOWA

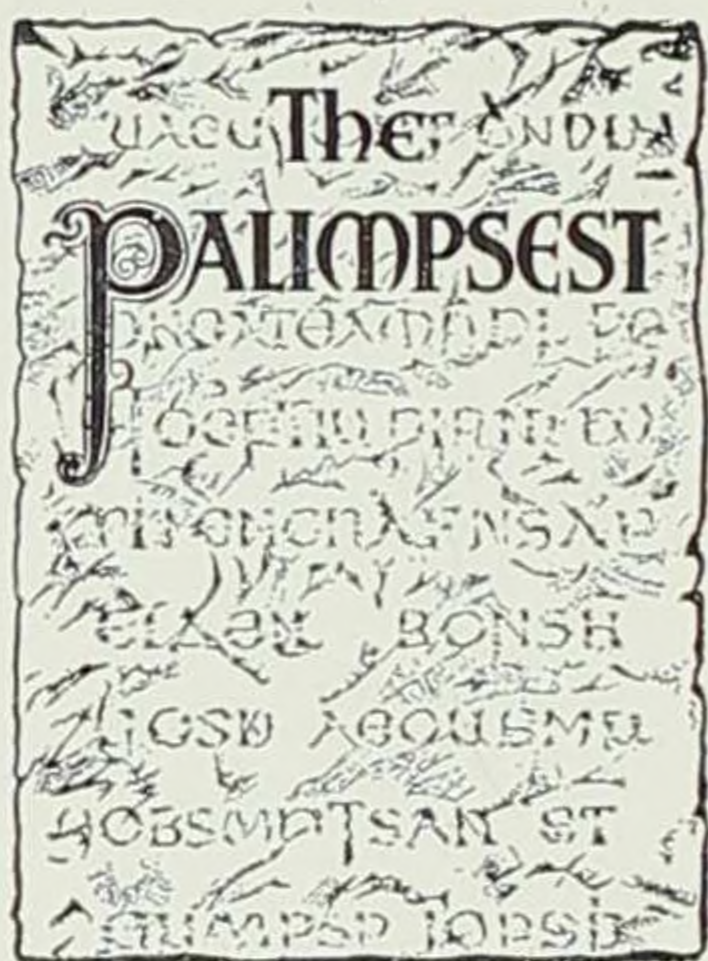
Published Monthly by

The State Historical Society of Iowa

Iowa City, Iowa

AUGUST, 1959

SPECIAL NATIONALITY EDITION — FIFTY CENTS



The Meaning of Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

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LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

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Illustrations

Map drawn by C. Livingston. Photo of Ida Hansen courtesy of Ida Manville, Cedar Rapids. All photos of Luther College courtesy of the college.

Author

Leola Nelson Bergmann is the author of books dealing with immigrant groups. Her publications include *Music Master of the Middle West* (Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1944) and *Americans from Norway* (J. B. Lippincott, N. Y., 1950). The present article is part of a series on the Scandinavians in Iowa.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER JULY 28 1920 AT THE POST OFFICE AT
IOWA CITY IOWA UNDER THE ACT OF AUGUST 24 1912

PRICE — 25 cents per copy; \$2.50 per year; free to Members

MEMBERSHIP — By application. Annual Dues \$3.00

ADDRESS — The State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa

THE PALIMPSEST

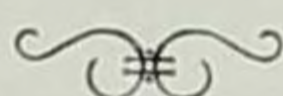
EDITED BY WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

VOL. XL

ISSUED IN AUGUST 1959

No. 8

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They Came to Iowa

Norwegian migration into Iowa stretched over three-quarters of a century from the 1840's until after World War I, but the pattern of settlement was established between 1850 and 1880. Three main areas developed: the first in the northeastern counties of Clayton, Allamakee, Winneshiek, and Fayette, with Winneshiek as the center; the second in the north central counties of Mitchell, Worth, and Winnebago, with Mitchell as the nodal point; the third in central Iowa in Story County, later spreading into Hardin, Polk, Boone, and parts of Wright. As the frontier pushed westward, the Norwegians tended to move in a northwesterly direction from Story County.

The migration originated in Norwegian communities in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois. It was a planned movement directed by leaders who had already investigated land and picked a site. Consequently, most of the first Norwegians in Iowa had experienced life on the American frontier, had some knowledge of Amer-

ican farming methods and money from wages or the sale of their first farms. Once the settlements were established relatives from Norway, as well as the continuing stream from Wisconsin and Illinois, came to Iowa. After the Civil War, the new arrivals were, as a rule, fresh from the Old Country. As immigration mounted, the pattern of movement was re-enacted within the state. From the settlements in the eastern counties families removed to the cheaper lands of the western counties.

Oddly enough, the first known Norwegian-born person to live on Iowa soil was a man bearing a Scotch name, Alexander Cruikshank. His father left Scotland, settled in Norway and married a Norwegian woman. Alexander was born in 1805, went to sea at an early age, then to America. In the spring of 1834 we find him paddling a canoe up the Mississippi as far as the ruins of old Fort Madison. Cruikshank chose land in Lee County and became a prominent figure there.

In the history of Iowa Norwegians, however, Cruikshank is an anomaly, for he seems to have had no ties with the land of his birth and no connection with the later Sugar Creek colony in Lee County, the first *actual* Norwegian settlement. Before we look at the circumstances that led to the founding of this colony, we must backtrack to Norway.

Background

The nineteenth century was a period of political, economic, and social change for Norway. At the beginning of the century she was a "poor connection" in the Scandinavian family; at the end she was recognized as a sister nation on equal footing with Denmark and Sweden. On May 17, 1814, after four centuries of Danish rule, she declared her political independence and drew up a constitution whose democratic features carried echoes from America. Intellectual life was stimulated by the break, and Norway enjoyed a renaissance that produced world-honored figures like Ibsen and Grieg. Political and social changes took place. The landowning class, the *bønder*, challenged the long-entrenched power of state and church and succeeded in winning a place in the government.

The agricultural class was by far the largest segment in Norway's population. At the top were the landowners or *bønder* who, though proud and independent, were seldom very prosperous. On their estates lived the *husmaend*, who in return for a few acres and a hut, rendered numerous services to the *bonde*. Below the *husmaend* were laborers and servants, who could never expect to better their condition in life.

Only three to four per cent of Norway's land was tillable. Except for a few large estates, mostly in eastern Norway, the farms were small,

barely supporting a moderate-sized family. As the *bønder* rose to power they forced reforms that made more land available to more people and lightened the tax load on the farmer. In spite of this, conditions improved at a snail's pace, and thousands looked for a way out.

The general dissatisfaction of the lower classes expressed itself in yet another form. The Lutheran state church laid a heavy hand on the everyday lives of the people, who regarded their parish pastors more as government officials than as religious leaders. Early in the century a pietistic lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge, courageously defied officialdom by publicly criticizing the rationalistic spirit within the church. Traveling through the valleys, he preached the living Word, and at the same time worked for the economic betterment of the cottagers and fishermen. What started as a religious awakening became a broad social movement through which the lower classes found an outlet for their grievances. Its effect on Norwegian life was deep, and, as we shall see, it crossed the Atlantic to take root in American soil.

Meanwhile, the population of Norway steadily increased, creating a labor surplus which the country, slow to industrialize, could not utilize. These conditions put people on the move. They joined either the stream that led from farm to city within the country or the stream that took them out of the country — to America.

Emigration began in 1825 and until the 1840's was spasmodic. But from then on, despite strong opposition from state and church, thousands of farmers and laborers left Norway each year. To relatives back home they wrote of the wonders of the new land, letters that passed from farm to farm, until they were tattered and illegible. These "America letters" were profoundly important in swelling the tide of emigration. Except for Ireland, Norway gave to America a larger proportion of her population than did any other foreign country over the entire period of emigration.

The first Norwegians to make America their home were a band of Quakers from Stavanger. They, like the English colonists of the 17th century, sought religious freedom and greater economic opportunity. In July, 1825, this little group sailed for America on a small sloop, the *Restoration*. A site in western New York had been chosen for them by Cleng Peerson, an eccentric Norwegian traveler, who during the early 1820's had been in America investigating possibilities. The first years of the colony in Kendall County, New York, were extremely hard, but somehow it survived and eventually became a halfway house for new immigrants going west. It is not amiss to note before leaving the Sloopers, as this first boatload is called, that a spinning wheel, which came to America on the *Restoration*, was presented to the Norwegian American Museum in Decorah in 1956.

For a decade after the Stavanger Quakers left Norway no emigration took place. In America, however, Cleng Peerson was laying the ground for the migration into the Middle West. A Daniel Boone type, Peerson was in a very real sense the father of the Norwegian immigration movement. He spent his life exploring, guiding land-seekers to new regions. In 1833 he walked to Illinois, and along the Fox River found a site for his countrymen. In the spring of 1834 several Quaker families, led by Peerson, moved west.

The Fox River settlement is vastly significant in the history of Norwegians in America. It was the mother colony for settlements that developed in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin in the 1840's. The latter then became mother colonies for new settlements in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota in the 1850's and '60's. These in their turn became feeders for the stream into the Dakotas in the 1870's and '80's.

First Settlements in Iowa

The Sugar Creek colony in southern Lee County was not part of the main stream of Norwegian migration into the state but rather an isolated attempt at colonization. The exact beginnings are somewhat shadowy, but records indicate that settlement came simultaneously from two sources. One seems to be the ubiquitous Peerson, who led a band of settlers from the Fox River colony, go-

ing first to Shelby County, Missouri, then sometime early in 1840 to Sugar Creek.

The other figure connected with the colony's origin was Hans Barlien, an upperclass Norwegian, who devoted himself to the betterment of Norway's underprivileged. Forced to leave Norway in 1837, he came to America, hoping to establish a haven for his countrymen. Landing at New Orleans, he proceeded to St. Louis and from there made exploratory journeys. In 1839 he wrote to friends in Norway describing a tract of land that lay along Sugar Creek between the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers in the Half-breed Tract of the Black Hawk Purchase. Together with another Norwegian, William Testman (or Tesman), he claimed land and settled there sometime before the census of 1840 in which both names were listed. Two years later Hans Barlien died. We do not know if he was responsible for bringing other immigrants to the colony, but we do know from the published account of a Norwegian editor who traveled through the American midwest in 1843 that between thirty and forty Norwegian families lived in the settlement.

Religious dissension marred the unity of the colony. Lutherans who were loyal to the state church in Norway disapproved of the Haugeans. A few of the colonists were Quakers. Others had become Methodists, Baptists, or Adventists. Mormon missionaries from Nauvoo across the Missis-

issippi River also had a measure of success with the Sugar Creek settlers. This hastened the disintegration of the colony, for in 1846 these Norwegians joined the Mormon trek westward. Shortly thereafter, the Quakers moved northward to other Quaker communities.

By 1850 the Norwegian character of the settlement had vanished. Nonetheless, some families remained, for the manuscript census for 1870 lists Norwegian-born residents in this area, and township plats for 1873 show a sprinkling of Scandinavian names along Sugar Creek. It is of some historical interest that a P. Testman and an S. Testman, probably descendents of Barlien's companion, William Testman, owned adjoining lands in the 1870's.

While the colony in southern Iowa was struggling to maintain itself, the first step of the larger movement into the northern counties was taking place. Early in 1843 two Norwegians, Ole Valle and Ole Kittilsland, left their jobs in the lead mines at Dodgeville, Wisconsin, and headed westward, reaching Fort Atkinson, where they hoped to secure work. Valle was engaged as a teamster and for the next three years had ample opportunity to observe land conditions in the region. In 1846 he made a claim in the center of Clayton County, thus becoming the first of thousands of Norwegians to settle on Iowa's northeastern hills and valleys. His friend Kittilsland also settled in

the county. Their messages to friends in Wisconsin prompted many families to join them. These first settlers chose hilly, wooded land, leaving the open prairies to the Germans, who were arriving in increasing numbers. Only after the Norwegians saw how speedily their neighbors developed productive farms did they discard their notion that prairie land was worthless. Clayton County did not remain a focal point for Norwegian settlement. The Germans spread over the county, while the Norwegian tide swerved north and west.

In Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, the talk about Clayton County stirred a party of four men to head for that point in the summer of 1849. At Prairie du Chien, however, the operator of the ferry informed them that the most desirable land in Clayton County had been taken and suggested that they try Allamakee County. They did, and the next spring a caravan of "kubberulles," (the canvas-topped wooden-wheeled wagons pulled by oxen), four families, four single men, and several cows and pigs arrived at "Painted Creek," in Allamakee County.

By the end of 1850 the settlement had two dozen cabins. In the next three years several large parties came directly from Norway. Five hundred Norwegians lived in Allamakee County by 1855. The peak was reached in 1885 when over 1,300, not counting the American-born children, made their homes in Allamakee.

In 1849 and 1850 other caravans from Dane and Racine counties in Wisconsin were crawling toward Iowa by different routes. Their destination was Winnishiek County, one jump to the west. The Dane County group, led by 23-year-old Erick Anderson, arrived in June, 1850. Ten days later another caravan came lumbering into the same neighborhood. The leader of this party was Nels Johnson. Throughout that summer both Norwegians and Yankees came to Washington Prairie, as this area near Decorah was called.

Each year thereafter Norwegians arrived in northeastern Iowa, the largest number settling in Winneshiek County. The first state census of 1856 showed almost 1,500 Norwegian-born inhabitants living in the county, more than half the total number for the state.

The jagged line of frontier meanwhile inched westward. Early in the 1850's a Danish-born clergyman, C. L. Clausen, a leader in the Wisconsin settlements, took extensive scouting trips in search of land. In July, 1851, he arrived at Paint Creek, Allamakee County, and, to the joy of the settlers, held religious services. From there he went to other settlements, baptizing, preaching, and looking at land. He went as far west as Mitchell County. The next summer with two companions he explored the Cedar River Valley in north central Iowa. So impressed were Clausen and his friends that they selected land and erected

claim shanties before returning to Wisconsin to plan an expedition.

An article based on Clausen's description of the Iowa colonies appeared in *Emigranten*, then the most influential of the Norwegian American newspapers. A few months later Clausen used the columns of the paper to reply to letters he received about Iowa, setting forth in detail the advantages and disadvantages of the land he examined. The result was that on May 17 (Norway's Independence Day), 1853, a caravan set out for Mitchell County, the Clausen family riding at the head of the train in a carriage.

That autumn part of the 300 acres Clausen had claimed was plotted into blocks and lots for a town, which he named St. Ansgar. Around the energetic, paternalistic person of this unusual clergyman the colony centered. His cabin was parsonage, schoolhouse, general store. He planned a sawmill, gave legal and medical advice. Besides the Norwegians who continued to come to the St. Ansgar region, groups of English, Czechs, and Germans settled there. They, as well as the Norwegians, looked to Clausen as the leader of the community. By 1880, though the Norwegian element was still the strongest, St. Ansgar was a mixture of nationalities.

A direct offshoot of the Mitchell County colony was an extensive settlement in Worth and Winnebago counties. By 1860 over 300 Norwe-

gians lived there, and ten years later 2,500 had spread over the two counties. The towns of Northwood, Lake Mills, and Forest City became business and cultural centers for the settlements.

Norway's Independence Day, the Seventeenth of May, crops up repeatedly in the story of the migration into Iowa. On that date in 1855 the wagon wheels of a unique caravan, which had gathered the day before on the prairie between Lisbon and the Fox River in Illinois, were set in motion. It was unique in that it is the only example of the movement of a Norwegian Lutheran congregation from one state to another. In the party were 106 men, women, and children. They elected one of their members pastor, another precentor (song leader), a third teacher, and chose the name "Palestine" for their congregation. Three Sundays en route they halted to rest and hold divine services inside the wagon ring. In June, 1955, the Palestine congregation held centennial services in Huxley in southern Story County. This occasion celebrated the beginning of one of the most important of all the Iowa settlements.

A few days later another party left Lisbon, taking the same route. But they branched north when they reached Story County, preferring to separate themselves from the first party. Their reason for doing so was singularly "Norwegian," for it pointed up the religious cleavage that was

to become a phenomenon of Norwegian American life. Both groups were Lutheran, but the Palestine congregation was high church, while the other party was low church, or Haugean. Land was selected around what became Roland and Story City, and in the spring of 1856 a large contingent settled there. From these two colonies the Norwegians spread into adjoining counties. They, together with numerous Swedes, gave this central region of the state a Scandinavian tang.

These three areas, the northeastern counties, the north central counties, and the central counties have formed the Norwegian bloc in Iowa. Other spots developed as the larger migration into the Dakotas took place.

Emmet County was such an instance. When *The Northern Vindicator* was started in Estherville in 1868, an American reader in Decorah wrote to the editor, observing that there were twenty families of American origin in Emmet County from Winneshiek County and "probably as many more Norwegians." Two years later the newspaper had so many Norwegian subscribers that from time to time the editor published Norwegian articles by O. O. Sando, one of the leading Norwegians in the area. In June, 1870, Sando reported that immigrant caravans were coming in crowds and that among them were many Norwegians who were settling in Emmet and nearby counties. He also reported that two Norwegians

from America had been visiting their homeland and had roused in many the desire to emigrate. Some were said to be coming to Emmet County. "They will be welcome," concluded Sando; "we will be happy to have as many of our countrymen as possible come and live with us."

From Sioux City, out on the western rim of the state, came reports that no city west of the Mississippi saw such streams of Norwegian caravans. Some of these landseekers were Dakota-bound. Others, attracted by the opportunities in the booming town, went no farther. Quite a few who took land in Dakota later returned to enter a trade or business in Sioux City. Many were bricklayers, carpenters, and stonemasons from Trondhjem, Norway. The colony increased decade by decade, getting fresh immigrants long after immigration into the older eastern areas had ceased. By 1920 Woodbury County ranked first in number of Norwegian-born.

Thus far we have paid more attention to the counties, the earliest geographical identification tag of the immigrant. As settlement increased certain townships within the county became "Norwegian," while others were less so or not at all. The rise of town life brought into being many centers which were principally Norwegian, usually towns of a few hundred inhabitants. In 1900 there were about 106,000 people of Norwegian descent in the state. Significant clusters were

found in and around the following towns and postal centers.

<i>Allamakee</i>	Swan Lake	<i>Mitchell</i>	Thompson
Quandahl	Wallingford	Osage	Vinje
Waterville	<i>Fayette</i>	St. Ansgar	<i>Winneshiek</i>
Waukon	Clermont	<i>Palo Alto</i>	Calmar
<i>Benton</i>	<i>Hamilton</i>	Ruthven	Decorah
Norway	Ellsworth	<i>Story</i>	Highlandville
<i>Buena Vista</i>	Jewell	Cambridge	Nordness
Sioux Rapids	Randall	Huxley	Ossian
	Stanhope	Roland	Ridgeway
<i>Cerro Gordo</i>	<i>Hardin</i>	Slater	Washington Prairie
Clear Lake	Radcliffe	Story City	<i>Worth</i>
<i>Chickasaw</i>	<i>Howard</i>	<i>Webster</i>	Fertile
Sande	Cresco	Badger	Kensett
		Callender	Northwood
<i>Clayton</i>	<i>Humboldt</i>	<i>Winnebago</i>	Silver Lake
Elkader	Bode	Buffalo Center	Tenold
Gunder	Humboldt	Forest City	<i>Wright</i>
St. Olaf	Ottosen	Lake Mills	Bellmond
<i>Emmet</i>	Thor	Leland	
Estherville	<i>Lyon</i>	Mt. Valley	<i>Woodbury</i>
Ringsted	Inwood	Norman	Sioux City

Time abandoned some of the postoffices, but the areas they served are still "Norwegian" spots on Iowa's nationality map. In 1950 there were 36,476 first- and second-generation Norwegians in Iowa. One can, then, estimate that between 75,000 and 90,000 Iowans are of Norwegian stock.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

Their Way of Life

We are fortunate that a diary and the letters of two lively, well-educated Norwegian women who lived on the Iowa frontier have survived to bring us close to the everyday lives of the settlers a century ago. Only a woman would record the details of Monday washday with its "nasty smell of lye" permeating the cabin or worry about keeping milk sweet in the summer heat. Both of these women, Elisabeth Koren and Gro Svendsen, were brides of twenty-one when they left their upper-class homes in Norway to accompany their husbands to Iowa. The Korens came to Winneshiek County in 1853 where Ulrik Vilhelm Koren had been called to organize Lutheran churches. In 1863 the Svendsens took a homestead near Estherville, in Emmet County.

In the pages of Elisabeth Koren's *Diary* we step into the homes of the settlers on Washington Prairie. For some the first shelter was a dugout in the slope of a hill. After a visit in one of them, Mrs. Koren commented that it "is not as bad as one might think." Actually, they were warmer and dryer in subzero weather and in rainstorms than were the cabins where caulking between the logs was forever falling out and where it was not

uncommon to "catch a glimpse of the sky through the roof," she wrote.

Some cabins were comfortable — curtains at the windows, brightly painted cupboards against whitewashed walls. Homemade benches and tables were the usual furniture, with two beds along the wall. Often the walls were covered with sheets of a Norwegian American newspaper, which offered some protection from drafts.

Mrs. Koren found other places revoltingly dirty. Litter and refuse marked the approach to the cabin, while no doormat kept the barnyard from entering the house. Inside no spittoons caught the flying tobacco juice. The floor and swill pail, also used as a chamber pot, received equal treatment. These smells, mingling with odors of rarely washed bodies and clothing and the eternal fried pork made the stench in these ill-ventilated cabins almost unbearable.

Small though the cabins were they often sheltered parents, children, grandparents, uncles, aunts. To increase sleeping quarters boards were laid across the beams under the rafters. Covered with straw, these crude floors provided bedding for several people. The lack of privacy did not seem to bother the unsophisticated settlers, Mrs. Koren observed. In the narrow confines of these many-peopled cabins birth, death, and copulation were accepted matter-of-factly.

Health conditions were anything but good. In-

fections spread easily, for cups and bowls were shared by ill and well at meals. From human and animal refuse outside, flies swarmed into the cabins to settle on uncovered food. Privies were not common in the early days, and even when they came into use merely concentrated the source of some diseases. Medical care was almost unknown. The settlers turned to Mrs. Koren for advice, and, guided by a medical handbook, she treated their disorders with salves and Spanish fly plaster. Childbirth for most women was frequent and often traumatic. At 37 Gro Svendsen died when her tenth child was born. Many an infant did not survive the deficiencies of its environment.

Women often waited years before any attention was given to enlarging or improving the house, for it was in the nature of the situation that adequate barns and granaries came first. Two years after the Svendsens had settled in Emmet County, Gro informs her parents proudly that their two stables are "among the best" in the neighborhood. Of their house she says tersely, it "is very small and humble, but it's a shelter from the cold winter," and adds eloquently, "I shall say no more about it." Twelve years later, in 1877, she writes, "We are now well housed, both man and beast. This means a great deal to a pioneer because during the first years he is deprived of many comforts previously enjoyed. No-

body must doubt that we are living comfortably."

In Webster County Thor Edwards owned almost 300 acres of good farm land by the late 1880's, had full-blooded Norman stallions and a fine herd of shorthorn cattle. He also had a wife and seven children. A contemporary chronicle reads: "Hitherto Mr. Edwards has been contented to live in a log-cabin, but now he is laying the corner-stone for a fine residence."

In the spring of 1955 I visited the farm home of Alfred H. Bergh near Waukon. He has spent a lifetime on the land his immigrant father bought in 1875, and the place shows the deep pride its owners have in it: a large white house, sweeping lawn, neatly pruned shrubs, a line of tall trees; beds of pulverized soil seeded with flowers that in summer make huge circles of color; barns and sheds, well-cared for and clean. Inside the house, too, the same story. There is no "contemporary" look in the design and furnishings, but the conveniences of modern living are there. Sitting at the kitchen table talking with Mr. and Mrs. Bergh over coffee, *spekekjøtt* (homemade dried beef), and cookies, I found people who, though separated almost a century from the land their parents left, know *gamle Norge* through novels they frequently re-read. Even more, they live with long and accurate memories in the history of the pioneers of northeastern Iowa, and they have preserved it in chronicles of church and community.

Foods

The Norwegian farmer in Iowa has always been well fed. Admittedly, in pioneer years provisions sometimes ran low at the end of the winter, but there were few instances of dire need. The diet, however, consisted monotonously of pork, potatoes, bread, corn or wheat meal mush, and milk. Eggs were precious at first. Sugar cane was grown almost from the start, and molasses became a standard ingredient in cooking, while for the children a spoonful served as candy. Mrs. Koren mentions this often, once recording that the children in the family with whom the Korens first stayed were romping about noisily "with great mustaches of molasses as usual."

As gardens were planted, vegetables and fruits supplemented the starchy diet. Both Elisabeth Koren and Gro Svendsen describe watermelons, unknown to them in Norway. Citrus fruits were a luxury. Occasionally roast quail, chicken, turkey, or a mess of fish provided a welcome change from the everlasting pork, which, however, was served in a variety of ways — roasted, salted and fried, or pickled. Milk puddings like *fløtegraut* and *tykkmelk* had been common in Norway and appeared on the immigrants' tables. Cheeses, such as *primost*, a brown, sweet-tasting cheese, were made by the housewives.

When the Korens visited their parishioners, they were usually served beer and *fattigmanns-*

bakkels, a crisp, curled pastry, still popular in many homes. Later, coffee took the place of beer. Another common food was *lefse*, made from potato dough, rolled thin, and baked on top of the stove. To Americans this limp, heavy pastry may resemble soggy cardboard. To Norwegian Americans *lefse* — buttered, sprinkled with sugar, and rolled up — is uniquely tasty.

Norwegian food customs have been retained in America particularly in cooky and pastry baking, especially during the Christmas season. A feature of Norwegian American communities is the annual *lutefisk* supper, served by the Ladies Aid of the Lutheran church. Norwegians are famous for their love of coffee, and in towns like Story City and Bode neighbors drop in for "afternoon coffee." This was common long before the "coffee break" swept America.

Their Names

The immigrant immediately discovered a major difference between himself and his American neighbor who had one surname which all members and generations in the family used. In rural Norway people had two or even three surnames. A family was known by the farm on which it lived; if the family moved, it adopted the name of the new place. Most people also used their patronymics, i.e., the father's given name plus the suffix *son* or *sen*, or in the case of a woman, *dat-ter*. Thus Sven, the son of Ole Johnson, became

Sven Olson; his son Eric would be Eric Svenson. Sometimes a family was known by the parish or a valley. Some had descriptive names such as Lillehans, meaning "small Hans."

Because Americans could easily pronounce Hanson or Johnson the immigrant often used his patronymic. As settlements became more densely populated it came to pass that more than one Ole Olson or Lars Anderson lived in the same community, inevitably causing confusion. Some then adopted one of their other Norwegian names. The general belief is that all Norwegians are Olsons or Johnsons, but studies of Winneshiek and Winnebago county names show that more immigrants retained either their farm names such as Hede-gaard, a place name such as Birkedal, or a revised form of Norwegian name.

The adoption and revision of names is a fascinating chapter in the study of an immigrant culture. In Winneshiek County Gustav J. Selnes, son of John Thorson, reverted to the family name of Selnes, while his brothers used the name Thorson. Sometimes the farm name changed its looks. This is what lies behind the name of Hans Liquin. His parents, Torsten Nelson Moberg and Guro Knudsdatter Lekven, lived in Norway on the farm known as Lekven. In Iowa, Hans used the variant Liquin. A common change was the shift from Fjelde to Field. The name Hvamstad became Wamstad. In an Estherville newspaper of 1871

the name Tosten O'Berg appears. One can speculate that his name may have been either Berg or Oberg and that settling among Irish he found it appropriate to become O'Berg.

Not only surnames but given names changed. An interesting case is that of Colonel (his given name) Halgrims, a member of the Iowa state legislature from 1911 to 1915. My curiosity about the military flavor of his name was satisfied in the manuscript census of 1880 where the father, Ole Halgrims, listed his eight-year-old son as Kornelie. Twenty years later in a county history his name appears as Cornelius. What probably happened is that in his Norwegian environment he was called "Kornel," which he eventually Americanized to "Colonel."

The immigrants at first named their children Torkel, Arne, Sigrid, but as customs of the new land became theirs the names changed. When Gro Svendsen's sixth son was born, she wrote to her parents in Norway, "I called him Steffen . . . I thought I'd choose one that was a little more in conformity with American so that he would not have to change it himself in later life. . . ." The second generation, which tended to disassociate itself from an immigrant background, favored American names. In the third generation a returning pride in family origins brought again into use a goodly mixture of Norwegian names — Karen, Solveig, and Erik.

Place Names

The Norwegians left few evidences of their settlement on the official map of Iowa, whose place names are largely Anglo-Saxon and Indian. None of Iowa's ninety-nine counties bears a name linking it to Norway. Three townships — in Humboldt, Winnebago, and Wright counties — are named Norway. In Emmet County a township originally named Peterson after the first Norwegian settler, later became part of Estherville township. Only five incorporated towns in the state show the hand of Norwegian settlers. The largest is Norway, with 441 inhabitants, in Benton County. The others are Ottosen and Thor in Humboldt County, St. Olaf in Clayton County, and Sheldahl in Story County, with populations ranging from 100 to 275. Still found on the map, however, are Quandahl (Allamakee County), Gunder (Clayton County), Nordness and Sattre (Winnebago County), and Olaf (Wright County). At one time in Iowa history some twenty other post office sites, now discontinued, bore Norwegian names, most of them named after or by the first postmaster whose house served as a postal point.

Language

Norwegian was, naturally, the language spoken in the settlements. Adults were loathe to learn English, particularly the elderly. Younger men learned enough English to transact business with

Yankees. The American historian, Laurence M. Larson, relates that his father and uncles attended public school for two or three winters after their arrival in Winnebago County in the early 1870's and learned to read English fairly well and to write "after a fashion." The women used only their native tongue. Learning to read English was an occupation far beyond the scope of their work-filled days. Even as educated and intellectually curious a person as Gro Svendsen, after half a dozen years in the new land, wrote that they did not subscribe to the Estherville newspaper because it "is printed in English, which we read with some difficulty." What English crept into the homes came through the children, who had instruction each winter at a public school. Norwegian was the playground idiom, however. We have a glimpse of these language problems in the reminiscences of Erick Berdahl, who attended school in Winneshiek County in 1859:

This being the only School House in the Settlement for Miles around we had as Meny as 60 Schollers in attendance and . . . a large part of the Schollars were full grown men and women who had Just come over from Norway and was trying to learn the language of the country they had adopted. The Teacher was from Norwegian parentage which was of great help in cases of emergency but we were not allowed to talk Norwegian within his hearing but as soon as we got out of the School House you would never hear a word of English because every schollar was genuine Norsk.

In the home parental authority was maintained through the use of Norwegian. Commands had to be issued and scoldings administered in Norwegian if they were to be effective. Affection, likewise, could only be expressed in the tongue of the heart. When the children began to use English more freely, parents felt their authority was being undermined; if a child answered in English when spoken to, it was an ominous sign of rebellion. As the children grew older, they spoke Norwegian only to their grandparents, forcing their parents to recognize their status as Americans.

The Norwegian that was spoken did not remain pure. American words were adopted liberally and given a Norwegian pronunciation and spelling, thus becoming "Norwegian" words for the immigrant. The following italicized phrases and words, taken from the Norwegian journal of Ole Bryngelson of Marshall County, who recorded a line each day for the sixty-year period, 1880 to 1940, are examples of American words dressed in Norwegian spelling: "*Diget* op alle Poteterne (dug up all the potatoes)"; "*Klint* ud i *Steble* (cleaned out in the stable)"; "*fixit* *fense* (fixed the fence)"; "*hasket* alle 10 Acre *Filen* (husked all of the 10 acre field)."

Norwegian was used exclusively in the church. The pastor consciously tried to preserve the language in its purest form through his sermons, in

catechism classes, and in parochial school. It is somewhat strange to find the Reverend Halvard Hande, the Lutheran pastor who had recently arrived in Estherville from Norway, writing a long article in English for *The Northern Vindicator* of May 24, 1873, chiding Norwegians in the area for not observing the Seventeenth of May. In previous years celebrations had been held, and reports of them, written by O. O. Sando, had been published in Norwegian. The Hande article is, perhaps, an indication that the settlers read well enough to heed the scolding.

As the years passed, English made inroads among the rank and file, but the pastors continued to conduct services in Norwegian. Nevertheless, they, too, felt the pressure to change. By the turn of the century the language issue was widely discussed both in clerical and lay circles. When America entered World War I, Governor William Harding issued a proclamation forbidding the public use of any foreign language in Iowa, much to the dismay of pastors whose English was hardly pulpit level. This event marked the beginning of the end, even though quite a few of them resumed Norwegian at the war's end.

English had gained a foothold, however, and throughout the 1920's it spread. During the period of transition the minister had to prepare two groups of catechumens for confirmation, one in English, the other in Norwegian. I have often

heard men and women of the second generation remark, "We didn't speak Norwegian in our home and I scarcely understood it, but I was confirmed in Norwegian because my mother insisted on it."

By the 1930's English was the prevailing language. The parish at Inwood, Lyon County, for example, decided in 1936 "to leave to the discretion of the pastor the proportionate use of Norwegian or English in the service." A few years later Norwegian was discontinued. In Clayton County in one of the oldest congregations in the state, Norwegian services ceased in 1943 after the pastor preached a sermon one Sunday morning to three people: the organist, the minister's wife, and the janitor!

A recent survey of thirty-three congregations affiliated with the synod known until 1946 as the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America shows that the use of Norwegian lingered on in the rural churches established by the pioneers in the 1850's and '60's. Three of these congregations still have occasional services. Congregations organized in the past two decades have never had Norwegian services. Most of the rest discontinued Norwegian during the 1930's and 1940's.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

Their Occupations

Agriculture

Literally thousands of Norwegians have given the best years of their lives to the cultivation of Iowa's soil. In 1870, 82 per cent of the Norwegians in the state were farmers. For many decades only the German farmers exceeded them in numbers, but since 1920 Swedish and Danish farmers have been more numerous than the Norwegians.

The early immigrants broke the sod; their children improved the land and acquired more. Few Norwegians were or are tenant farmers. If they were, they often rented from a relative or from a family estate. The Tow family in Benton County is such a case. Ole, Andrew, and Lars Tow came to Florence township about 1860. A 1917 plat book shows that several Tows still lived in the township; those who did not own their land rented from the Lars or Andrew Tow estates. Another Tow rented from a former resident of the community, B. L. Wick, a Norwegian attorney in Cedar Rapids.

Once the pioneer days were over most Norwegian farmers became financially solvent, though they had nothing to spare. By the 1890's many

were well-to-do and, with this economic flexibility, began to experiment with farming methods, develop purebred livestock, and participate in agricultural matters in county and state. Among Iowa's better known stockbreeders during the second decade of the twentieth century was Cyrus Tow of the Benton County family already mentioned. When he was elected to the state board of agriculture in 1913, his predecessor referred to him as "the younger man who is making a reputation for the state of Iowa." Tow served on the state board until 1925. Another well-known member of this family was Samuel Tow, prominent in the 1920's and '30's in Benton County agricultural affairs.

Others who made contributions to the agricultural progress of the state in the early decades of the century were three Winnebago County men, Ole A. Olson, Paul Koto, and G. S. Gilbertson, members of the state board of agriculture. Olson served as vice president for a number of years, Gilbertson as treasurer; Koto was the state veterinary surgeon. During the same period G. N. Haugen from Northwood, Worth County, was representing Iowa in congress and was chairman of the committee on agriculture.

Commerce and Trade

When the word "pioneer" is used in reference to the opening of the Middle West, one normally thinks of those who broke the sod. There were

also pioneer town builders like C. L. Clausen, who founded St. Ansgar, and entrepreneurs like B. O. Dahly, the Decorah merchant.

Dahly came to Winneshiek County in 1854 to a cluster of cabins called Freeport. Here he built a hotel, a livery barn, a general store, and millinery shop for his wife who had learned the trade. But his dream of a thriving city evaporated when Decorah was chosen to be the county seat. Later he moved there and made a fresh start with a millinery and fancy dress goods business. In eight years it had expanded from a modest stone building to a large two-story brick building called Dahly's Emporium employing sixteen people and advertized as the "finest establishment west of the lakes." And well it might have been, for its stock of millinery, plumes, silks, velvets, cloakings and shawls was more modish than one would expect to find in an Iowa village just after the Civil War.

In 1863 a woolen mill was started in Decorah by a group of Norwegians who invested \$54,000 and organized the Winneshiek Manufacturing and Commercial Association. Another Decorah Norwegian, Hartvig Engbertson, whose father came to the town in 1864 and established himself as a tailor, developed a very successful farm machinery business in the 1870's, became a stockholder and one of the organizers of the Decorah Opera House Company, as well as a shareholder in the Decorah Valve Company, the Winneshiek

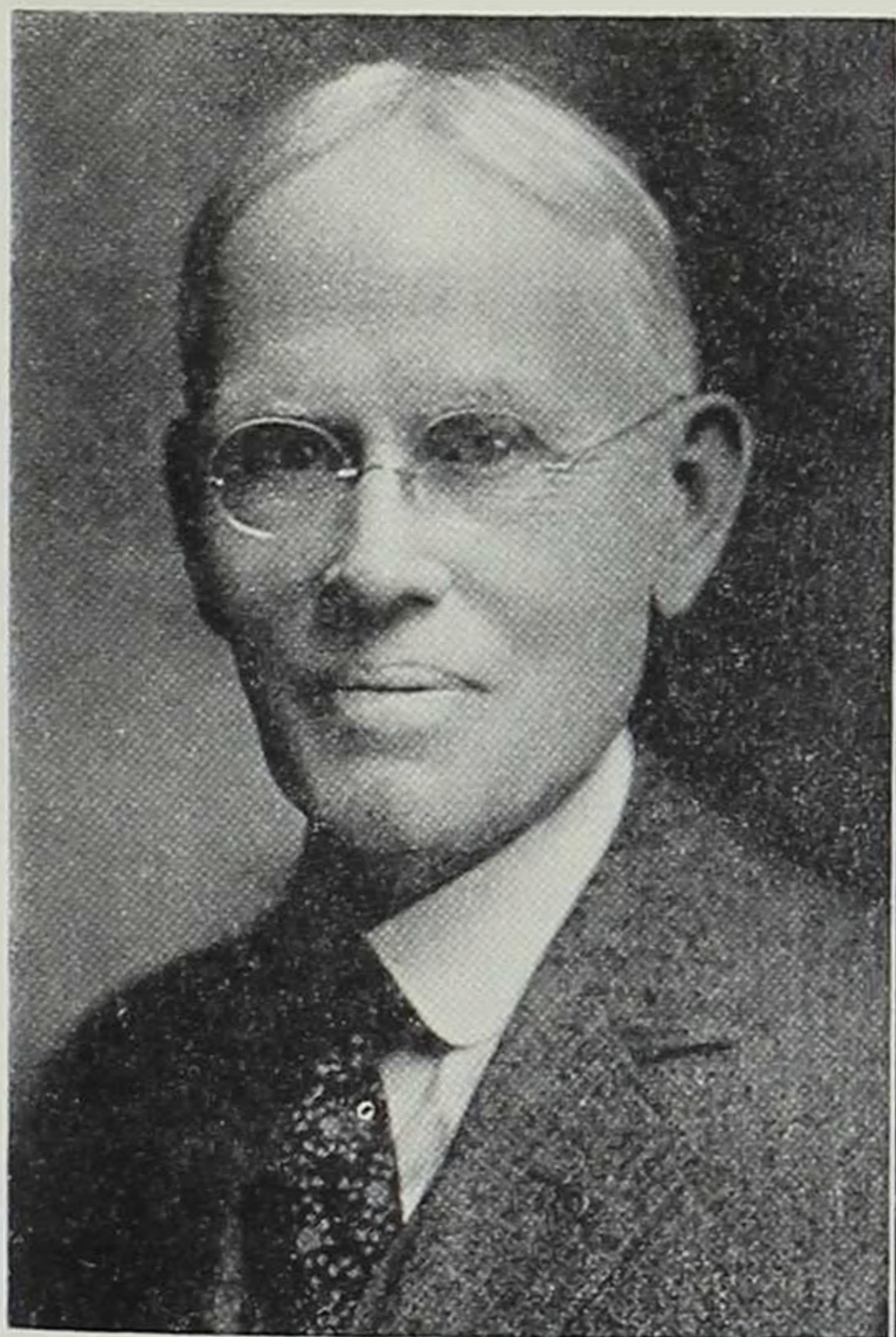
Hotel Company, and the Decorah Gas Company. His Norwegian-born wife operated a millinery shop. By the 1880's practically every town in the northeastern counties had a vigorous Norwegian element.

Rural areas and the small town still form the core of Iowa's "Norwegian" population. They are economically comfortable as garage owners, implement dealers, insurance agents, bank presidents, creamery operators, attorneys, and physicians. Occasionally one finds a Norwegian operating the movie theater.

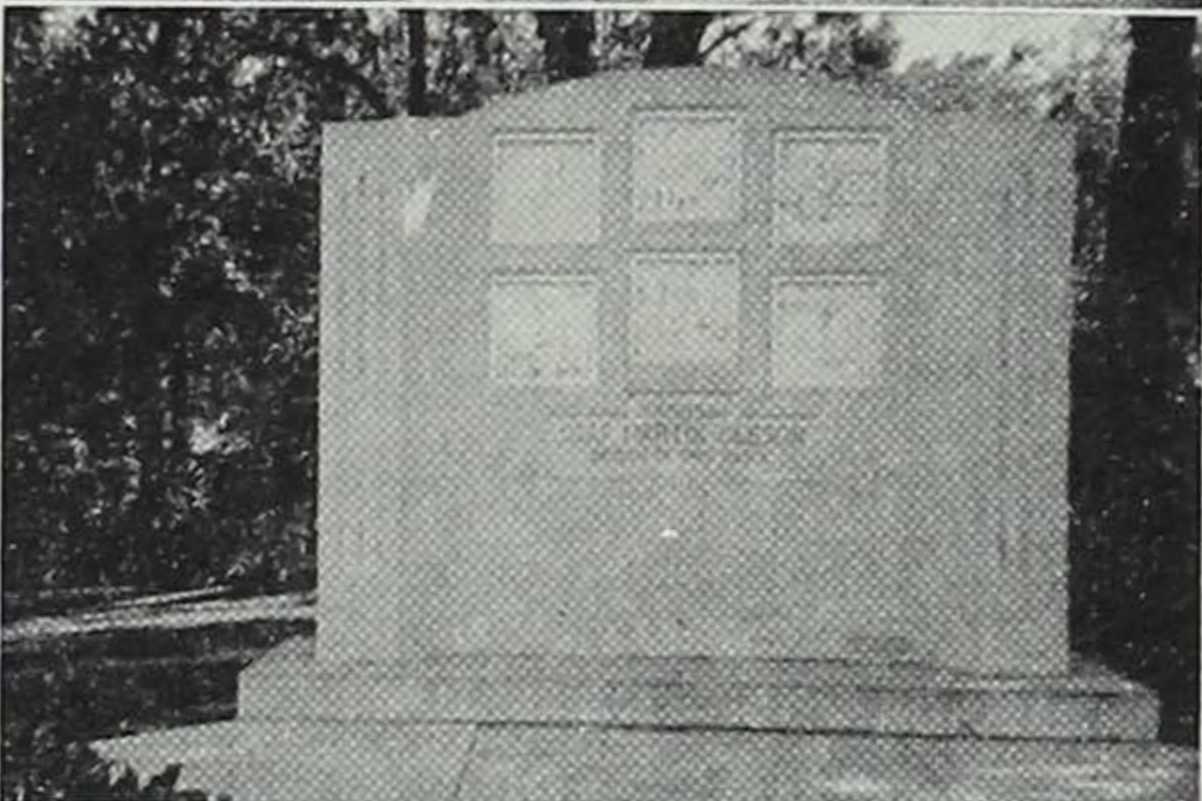
In the growing cities of the state, the immigrants, whose Old World training in the skilled trades served them well, went into the construction business. During Sioux City's expansive 1880's and '90's one of the foremost contractors was Arnt Olsen Halseth, who built the Union Stock Yards, the Silberhorn packing house, the Exchange Bank, the Union Depot, several public buildings and churches.

Olaf Martin Oleson came to Fort Dodge in the 1870's, established himself as a druggist and in the years that followed became one of the founders of the Fort Dodge Light and Power Company, the Fort Dodge Telephone Company, and various banking enterprises. A renowned philanthropist in his community, he was also a leader in Norwegian cultural affairs.

Generally speaking, however, the Norwegian



O. M. OLESON
Courtesy A. J. Moe



Concert Shell and Olesen Memorial
Oleson Park, Fort Dodge

Among many generous gifts to his community, Oleson gave land for a park which bears his name and has many rare plants and shrubs because of his avid botanical interests.



Follinglo Farm

For two generations the Tjernagel family — farmers, musicians, writers — contributed to the cultural life of the Story City area. The Riverside Band, popular in the late 1880's, was organized by them. Later the family had its own chamber group, Follinglo Orchestra, which played classical music after evening "chores" and on Sundays.

urban immigrants were unskilled and skilled laborers who worked for construction and machine manufacturing companies or in food processing and meat packing plants. The more able advanced to supervisory positions. Those of the second and third generations who remained in industry often became division heads, plant supervisors or general managers in medium-sized and large companies. A few small industrial concerns have been founded, such as the Osmundson Forge Company at Webster City and the O. A. Olson Manufacturing Company in Ames, but among Iowa's nearly four thousand manufacturing companies only a small percentage are owned by people of Norwegian stock.

Professions

An accurate count of Norwegians in the professions in Iowa is impossible, but from available data one gets an impressionistic picture. Until nearly 1900 the Lutheran ministry was the recognized outlet for young men with an intellectual bent. Luther College in Decorah, founded for the purpose of training clergymen, drew most of the Iowa farm boys who desired an education. During the first six decades of its history (1861-1922) 1,060 Iowans attended the college, 222 of them graduating. Out of that group 115 became clergymen, the majority before 1890.

In the twentieth century other fields, particularly teaching, drew the students' attention. The

strong classical training at Luther College propelled more than a few into historical and linguistic studies. Some of these men became well-known scholars in American institutions. Meanwhile an increasing number of men and women of later generations were graduating from colleges, thereby sending a steady flow into the Iowa public schools as teachers and superintendents, gradually into the colleges as professors.

Few have been associated with Coe, Cornell, Grinnell, Drake and the other colleges, but the three state educational institutions have a fair number of men and women of Norwegian ancestry. The State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, and Iowa State University, Ames, each have some two dozen, while about a dozen of the teaching and research professors at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, come from this background.

Norwegians entered other professions somewhat more slowly and certainly in fewer numbers. More seem to have gone into medicine than into law, and more into law than into dentistry. By the 1890's sons of Norwegian immigrants were receiving degrees from Rush Medical College, Hahnemann Medical School in Chicago, the State University of Iowa Medical College, and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Keokuk. Winnebago County had quite an influx of young Norwegian doctors during the 1890's, and shortly before World War I at least eight doc-

tors of Norwegian background or birth were practicing in the county. At the present time between 1 and 2 per cent of the members of the Iowa State Medical Society can be identified as having Norwegian backgrounds.

Among those who led the way into the legal profession were Barthinius L. Wick of Cedar Rapids and Ole Naglestad of Sioux City, both of whom were born in Norway and came as youngsters to America, began their practices before and after the turn of the century respectively, and carried on actively for almost half a century. Most Norwegian communities eventually came to have a "Norwegian" lawyer of second- or third-generation vintage, but by and large this field, dominated from the beginnings of statehood by Yankees, did not draw Norwegians in sizable numbers. In 1940 scarcely more than a dozen lawyers of Norwegian ancestry were practicing in the ten counties having the largest number of Norwegians. The situation for the dental profession has been fairly similar.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

Church and School

Perhaps the most noticeable Scandinavian contribution to American society has come through the Lutheran church. This church, established by and for the immigrants a century ago, was a rural church. When the immigrant stream veered toward America's cities during the later decades of the nineteenth century, the church followed, but, according to one historian of Lutheranism, it did not absorb even a quarter of the new immigrants. Nevertheless, the Scandinavian Lutheran church in America, through an intense and vigorous brand of Lutheranism, maintained itself firmly, leaving its imprint on the rural and town society of mid-America. The largest of the church bodies whose roots lie in Scandinavian soil is, both nationally and in Iowa, the Evangelical Lutheran Church founded by Norwegians. Well over 90 per cent of Iowa's Lutherans with Norwegian antecedents belong to this body, which has 78,000 members in more than 160 congregations in the state.

Varieties of Faith

The early immigrants were religious people, steeped in the traditions of the Norwegian state church. Yet, quite a few had inculcated the pious

and somewhat rebellious spirit of the Haugean movement, which was strong in western and southwestern Norway where the "emigration fever" struck first. Free to do what they wished on American soil, the early settlers set up their own form of Lutheran worship, or they fell under the spell of Methodist and Adventist preachers.

To orthodox Lutherans these "sectarians," as non-Lutherans and even Lutherans of a more liberal bent were called, were a troublesome lot. They appeared on the scene frequently in Winnebago County in the '50's and disrupted, at least temporarily, the progress of conservative Lutheranism. Andrew Berdahl, who spent some childhood years in a settlement there, remembered this: "The Free Methodists had gained quite a following in this community, but they did not succeed so very long." Devotional services, led by one of the settlers, "did much to hold the people to the Lutheran faith" until a pastor came in 1857.

Nevertheless, not all the immigrants in Winnebago County held to the faith. A one-time Norwegian sailor, O. P. Petersen, who had been converted to Methodism, was sent as a missionary to Iowa in 1851. In the following year he organized a congregation in the midst of the Lutherans at Washington Prairie. That the Methodists held their own is evident in the fact that in 1867 a new church building was completed and dedicated.

In Winnebago County where the American his-

torian, Laurence M. Larson, spent his boyhood, church conditions in the 1870's were chaotic. Describing the situation, he wrote:

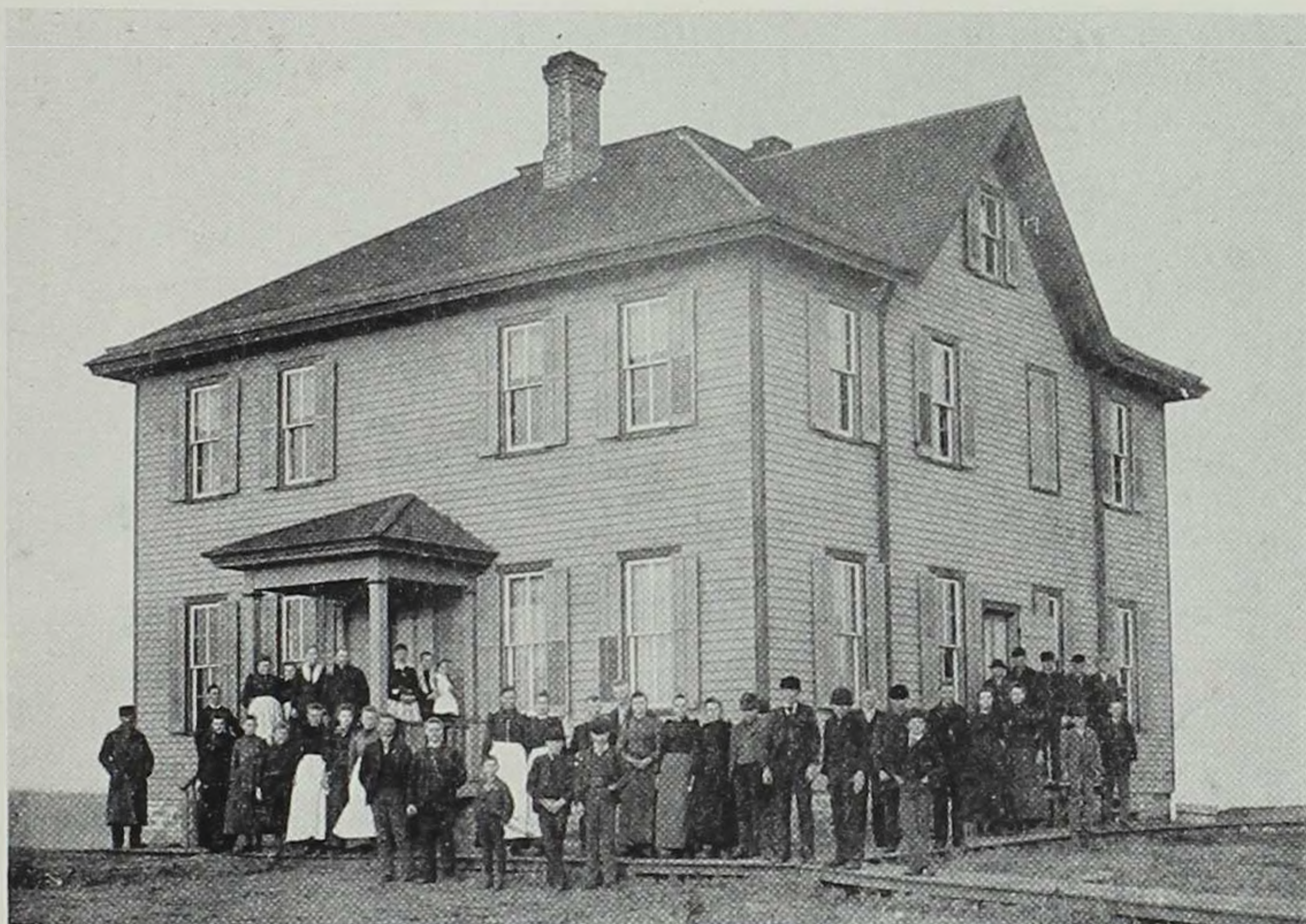
Methodism with its joyous and virile religion appealed powerfully to many of the immigrants. A Norwegian Methodist society had already been established in Forest City; the first church building in the county was erected by this organization. The Baptists followed close behind and had considerable success, especially among the Swedes who lived in the neighborhood of Forest City. The Norwegian dissenters took less kindly to the Baptist system; they preferred Methodism, in which they seemed to recognize certain characteristics of the Haugean movement. The Adventists carried on a vigorous propaganda in the middle seventies, the chief result of which was a notable secession from the young Baptist church to the standards of the Battle Creek group.

In other counties, too, a few Norwegians trickled into the Methodist and Baptist streams, often joining with Danes and/or Swedes to organize congregations. The practice of uniting the Scandinavians was common in both the Baptist and Methodist churches, the Danes and Norwegians, particularly, co-operating. In April, 1956, the Rev. Odd Hagen, bishop of the Methodist Church in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland preached in the South Marion church near Stratford in Webster County and at Lake Mills in Worth County. Despite some connections with the Baptists and Methodists, the Norwegians form but a minor element in this group in Iowa.

Another small but historically important denomination among the Norwegian Americans is the Society of Friends, and, interestingly enough, Iowa occupies a unique place in its background, for Marshall County became the center of Norwegian Quakerism in America. As we have already seen, there were a number of Quakers at Sugar Creek. There, in 1842, they erected a meeting house, the first place of worship built by Norwegians of any faith in the wilderness of the new west. When the colony disintegrated, they filtered northwestward into Henry, Mahaska, Benton, and, with the arrival there in 1859 of Søren Oleson, into Marshall County. He had come to Le Grand from Sugar Creek via the Friends community of Salem in Henry County. During the next decade many families came directly from Norway, or from Illinois and Wisconsin to this community, named Stavanger after their home in Norway.

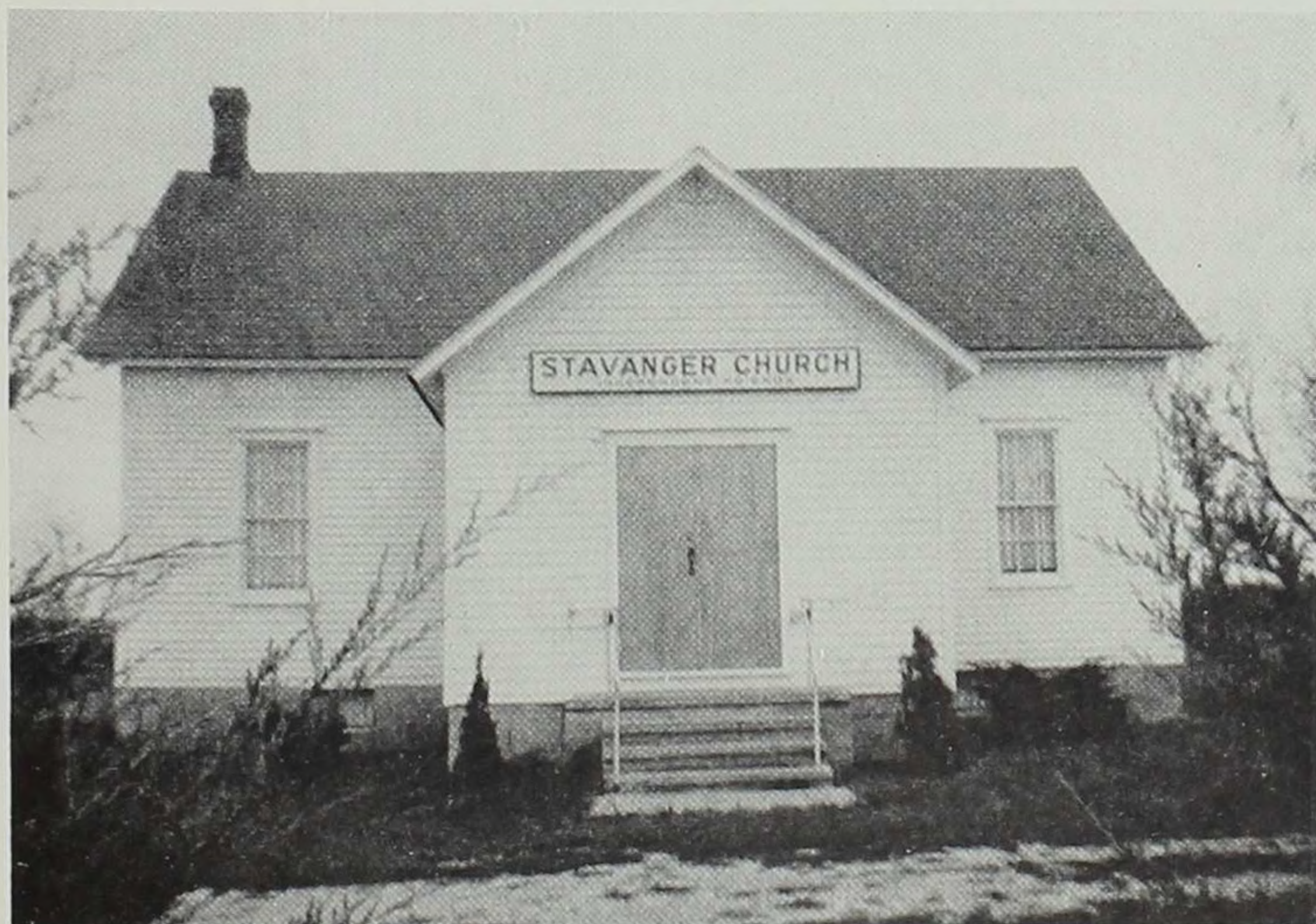
After worshipping for a time with the American Friends at the Le Grand Monthly Meeting, the Norwegians received permission to organize their own meeting, thus becoming the only Norwegian-speaking meeting in the United States. Until the 1880's the Norwegian language was used exclusively, but as the older generation passed from the scene English came into the meeting house and gradually supplanted Norwegian.

The Norwegian character of the community



Courtesy of H. Bryngelson

Stavanger Boarding School, established 1891 for Quaker youth. Discontinued in 1914.



Present day Stavanger Church on site of old Boarding School.

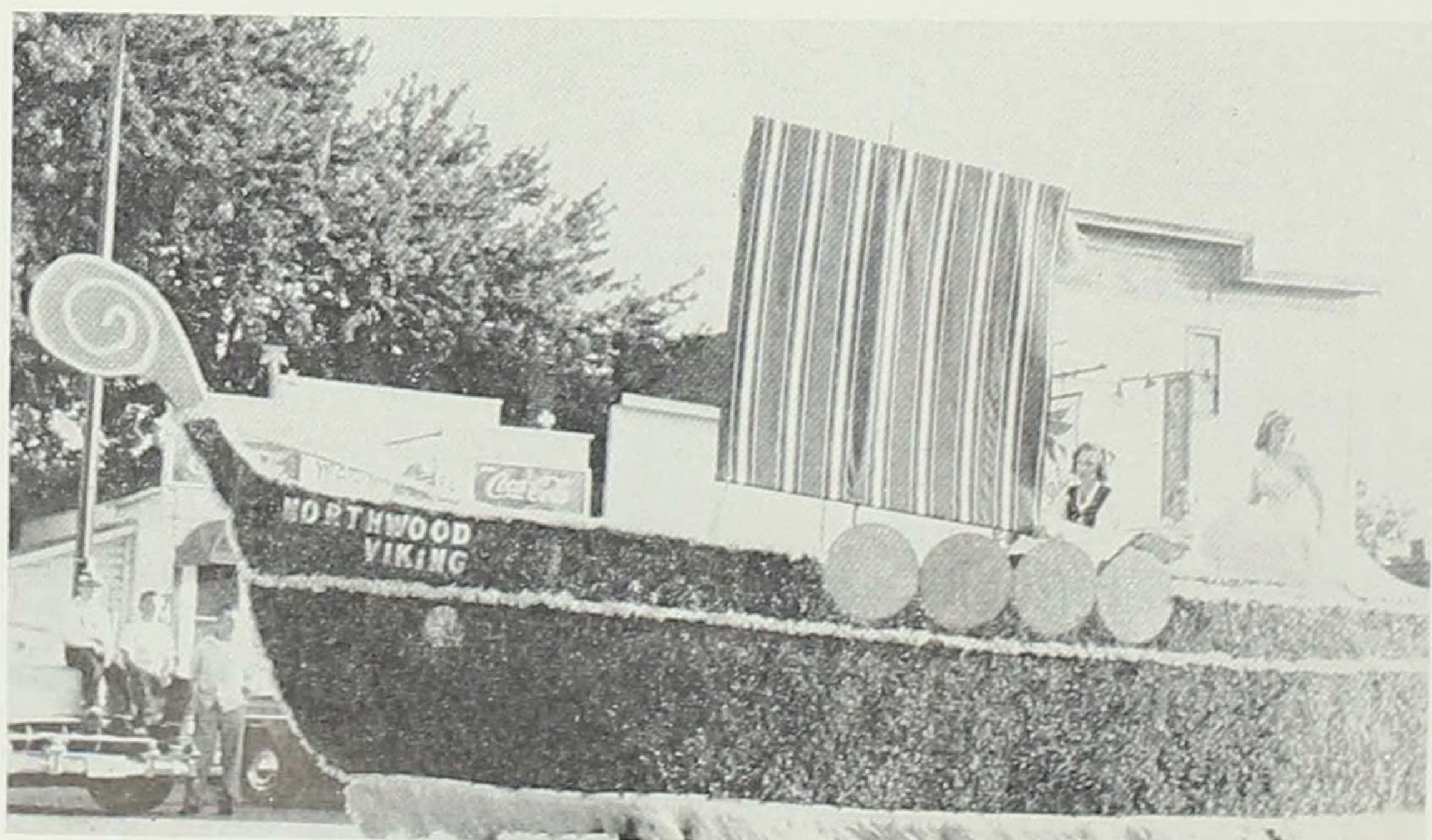
NORTHWOOD'S



Authentic Norwegian Costumes

This area in Worth County is the center of a large Norwegian population. Viking Days, a 3-day annual celebration, was first held in June, 1954. Thousands of people from northern Iowa and southern Minnesota, many of Norwegian extraction, attend. Festivities feature Old World customs, parades, athletic contests, a band festival, street dancing, and a Viking Queen.

Photos courtesy of
Northwood Anchor



Viking Float and Queen

VIKING DAYS



Viking Chorus sings the Norwegian national anthem, "Yes, we love this land of ours," and Grieg's "Landsighting," the original poems by B. Bjornson, who visited Northwood in 1881.



Norwegian Dances



Coffee Hour



Photo courtesy Decorah Newspapers

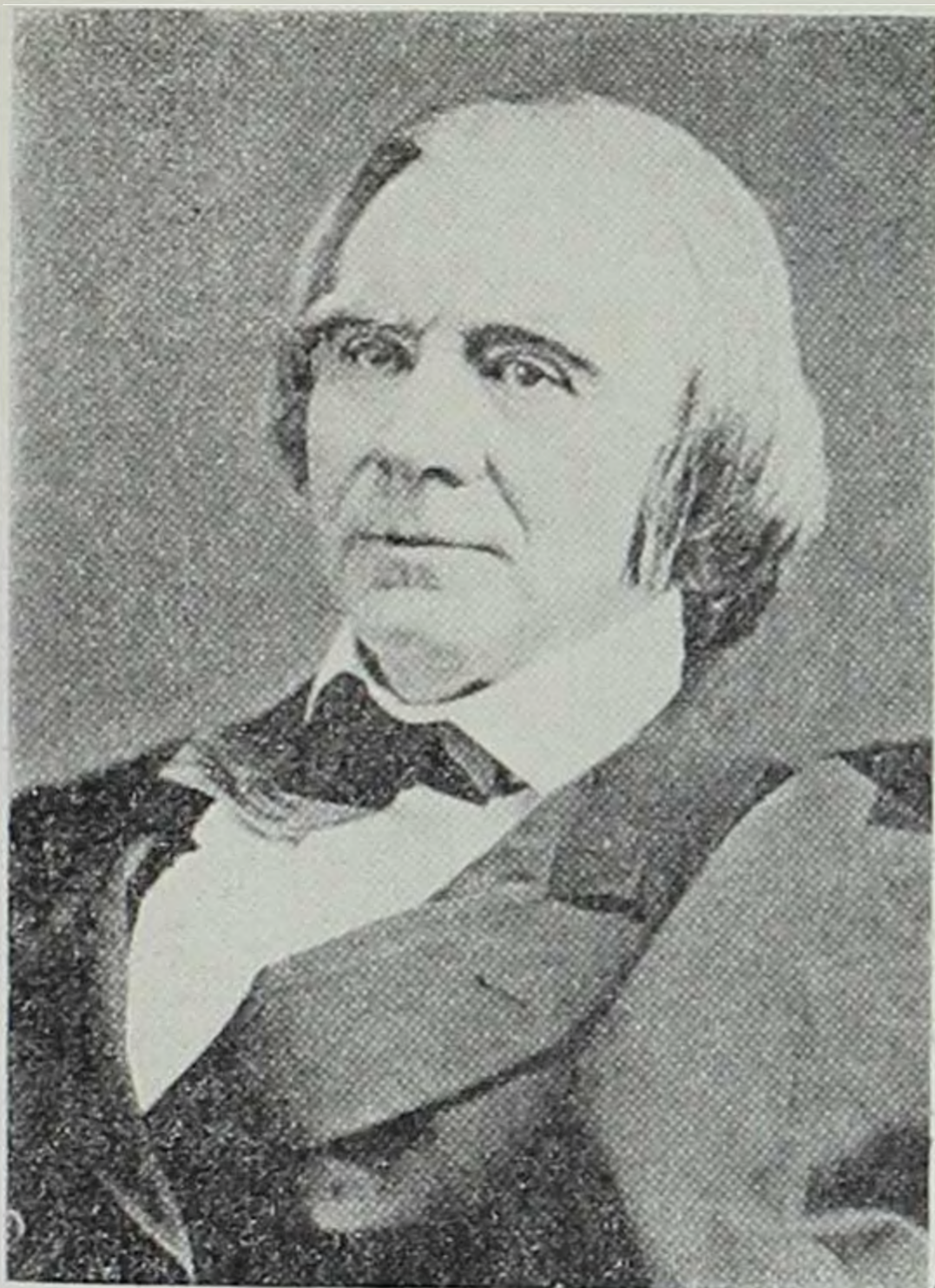
The Luren Singing Society, Decorah

Male choruses are a popular tradition among Norwegian Americans. The Luren Singing Society of Decorah, oldest Norwegian male chorus in America, organized in 1868, is still active. In Fort Dodge the Grieg Mandskor was founded in 1891 by O. M. Oleson, for many years its director and also honorary president of the Norwegian Male Singers Association of America.

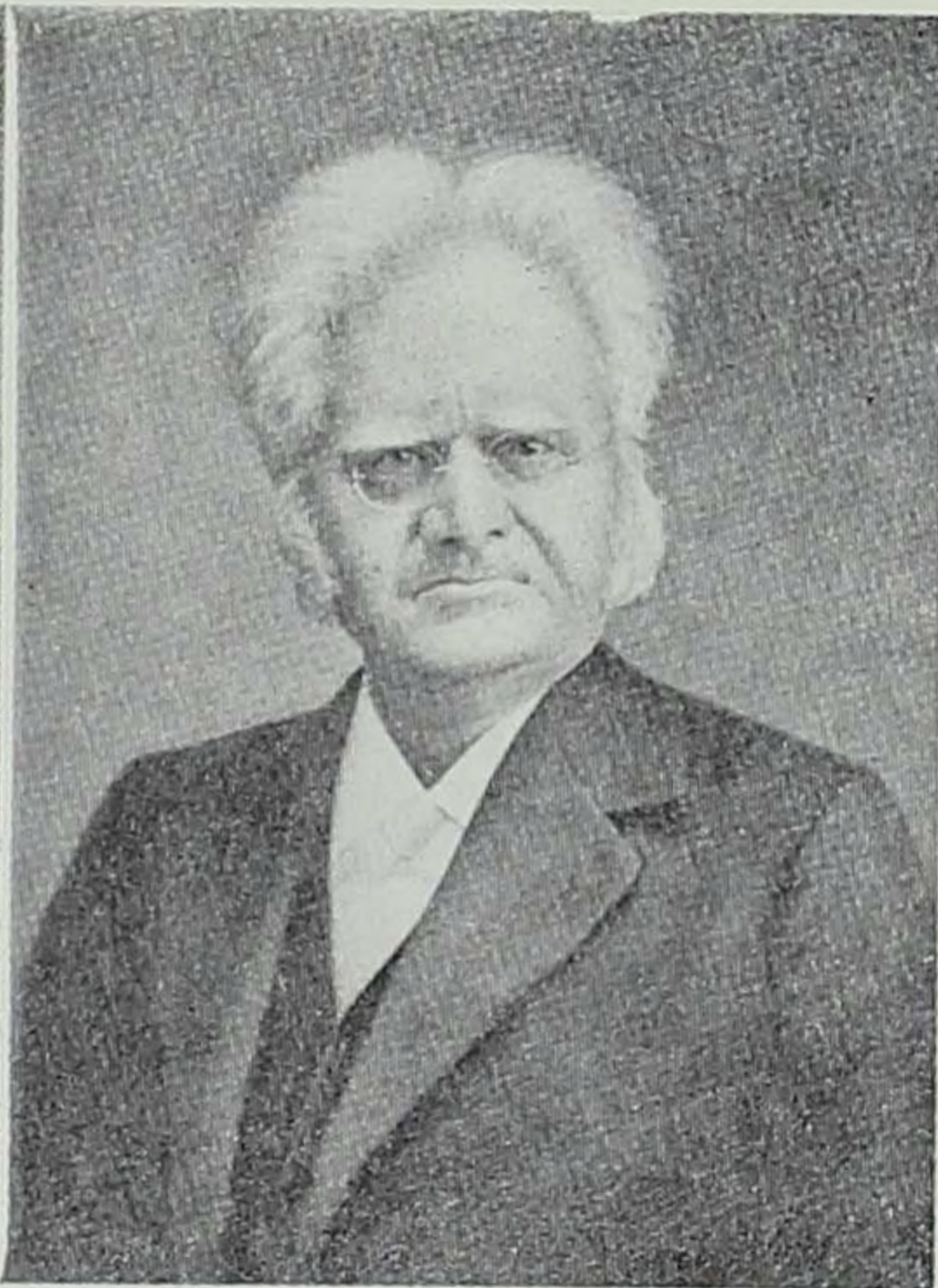


Photo courtesy A. J. Moe

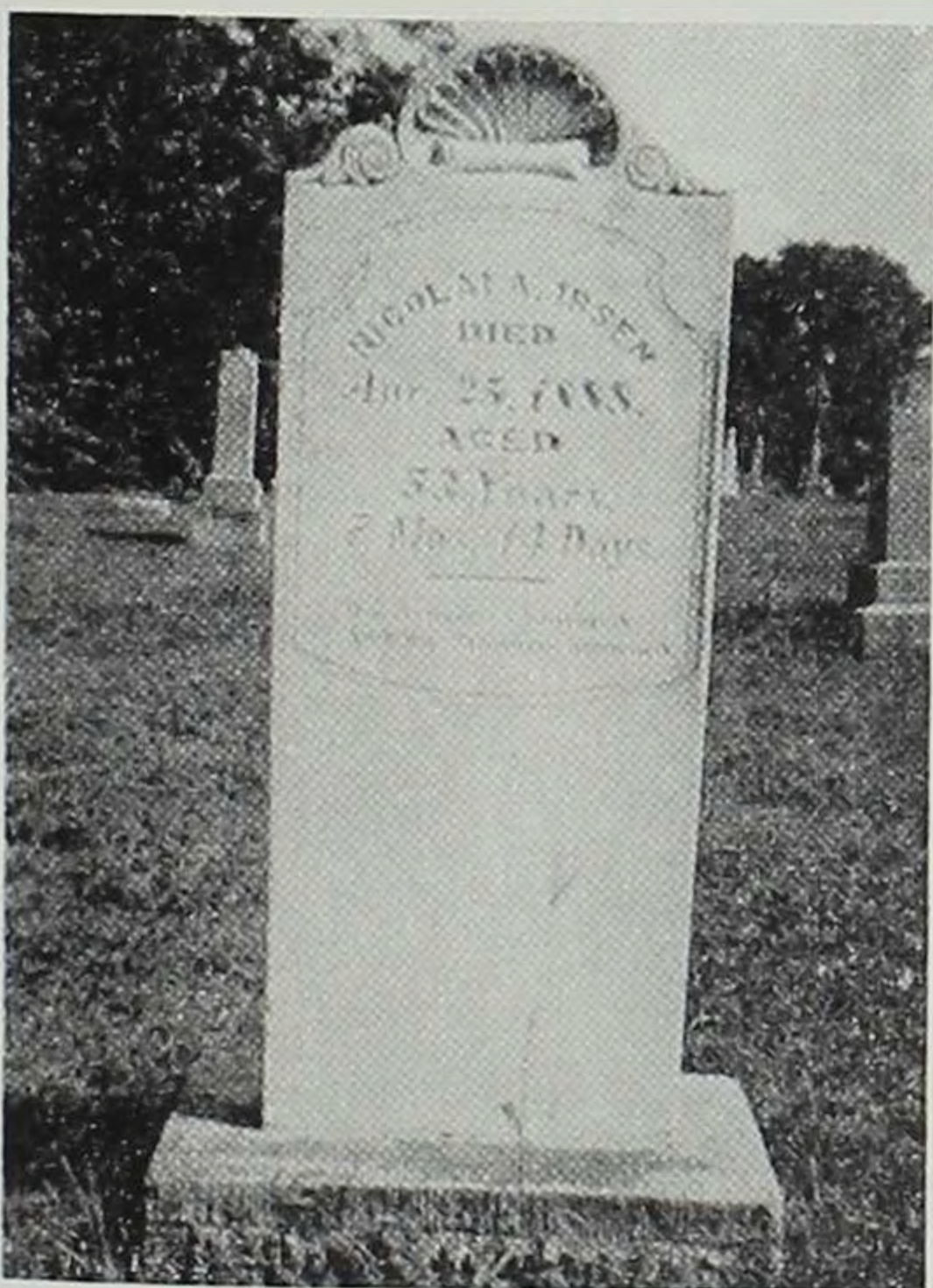
Grieg Male Chorus, Fort Dodge



Ole Bull



Bjornstjerne Bjornson

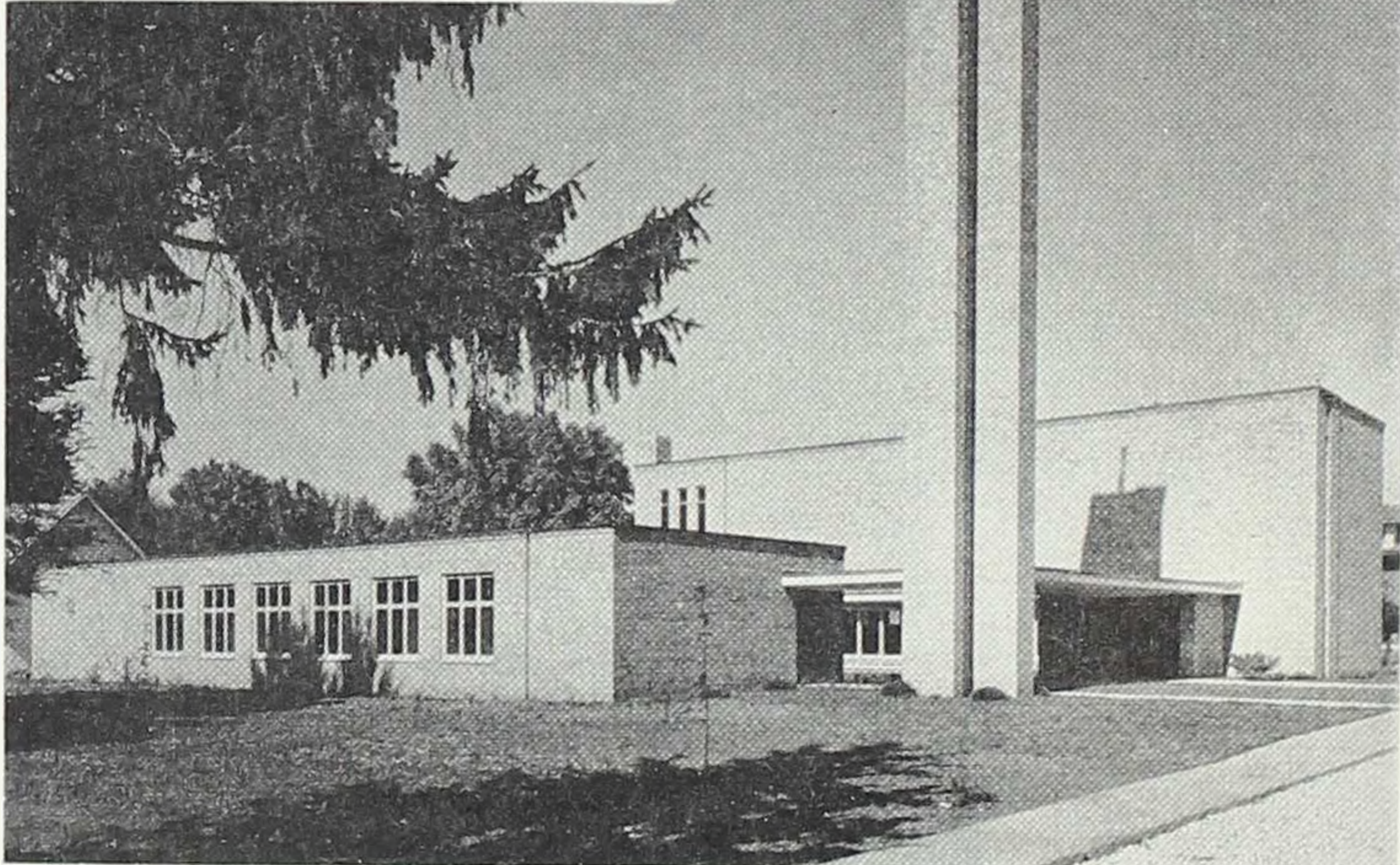
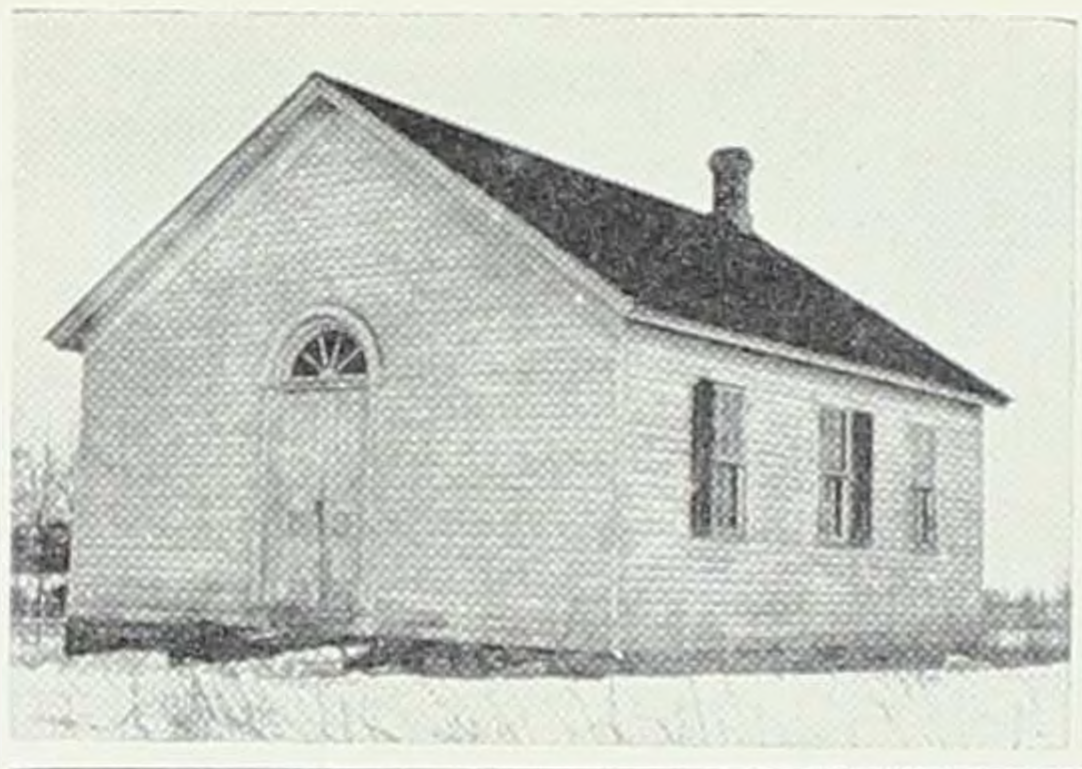


Nicolai Ibsen's grave, Estherville

Ole Bull, famous Norwegian violinist, toured Iowa in 1872 and 1873, attracting enormous crowds. A Norwegian farmer traveled 27 miles on horseback to hear him in Des Moines. When Bull was told the man lacked the \$1 for admission, he ordered "the best seat in the house" for him and an introduction backstage.

Bjornson lectured in Iowa in the winter of 1880-81. Loved as a poet-novelist and attacked for his liberal religious views, he produced an intellectual storm. Clergymen tried to prevent attendance at his lectures, but from far and near people went to Des Moines, Northwood, Decorah to hear him.

Nicolai Ibsen, bachelor brother of the famous dramatist, Henrik Ibsen, was a cowherder for Norwegian families near Estherville in the 1880's. His family in Norway did not know where he was; people in Estherville did not know who he was, until shortly before his death. The epitaph on his tombstone, erected by a farmer who befriended him, reads: "By strangers honored, And by strangers mourned."



Courtesy Bertha Olson

(Inset) Norway Lutheran Church, Clayton County, built by pioneers in 1857.

Photo by Bayard E. Holt

Trinity Lutheran Church, Ellsworth, dedicated in 1953.



Old Parsonage for the Norway, Marion, and Clermont Lutheran congregations, Clayton County.

receded but did not altogether vanish. For a number of years in the 1920's and '30's Leif Erickson Day was celebrated at an autumn picnic with speeches and band music. Today one hears a slight Norwegian accent in the speech, sees a few Old Country relics in the well-appointed farm homes, Norwegian Bibles, grammars, and diaries. Everyone attends the annual "lepsi" (a variant of *lefse*, seemingly peculiar to this neighborhood) supper given by a nearby Norwegian Lutheran church. Talking to these people, one senses the difference between them and Norwegians in other sections of the state. Their ties are to the Iowa Quaker groups in West Branch and Scattergood, to Oskaloosa and Penn College. They are only vaguely aware of the larger current of Norwegian American life, its institutions, its press; they have no contact with it.

Lutheran Synods

In matters of religious beliefs the natural course is to tread the parental path, and consequently, more immigrants retained their Lutheran faith than exchanged it for another form of Protestantism. As immigration from every part of Norway steadily increased, the cause of Lutheranism in Iowa was greatly strengthened.

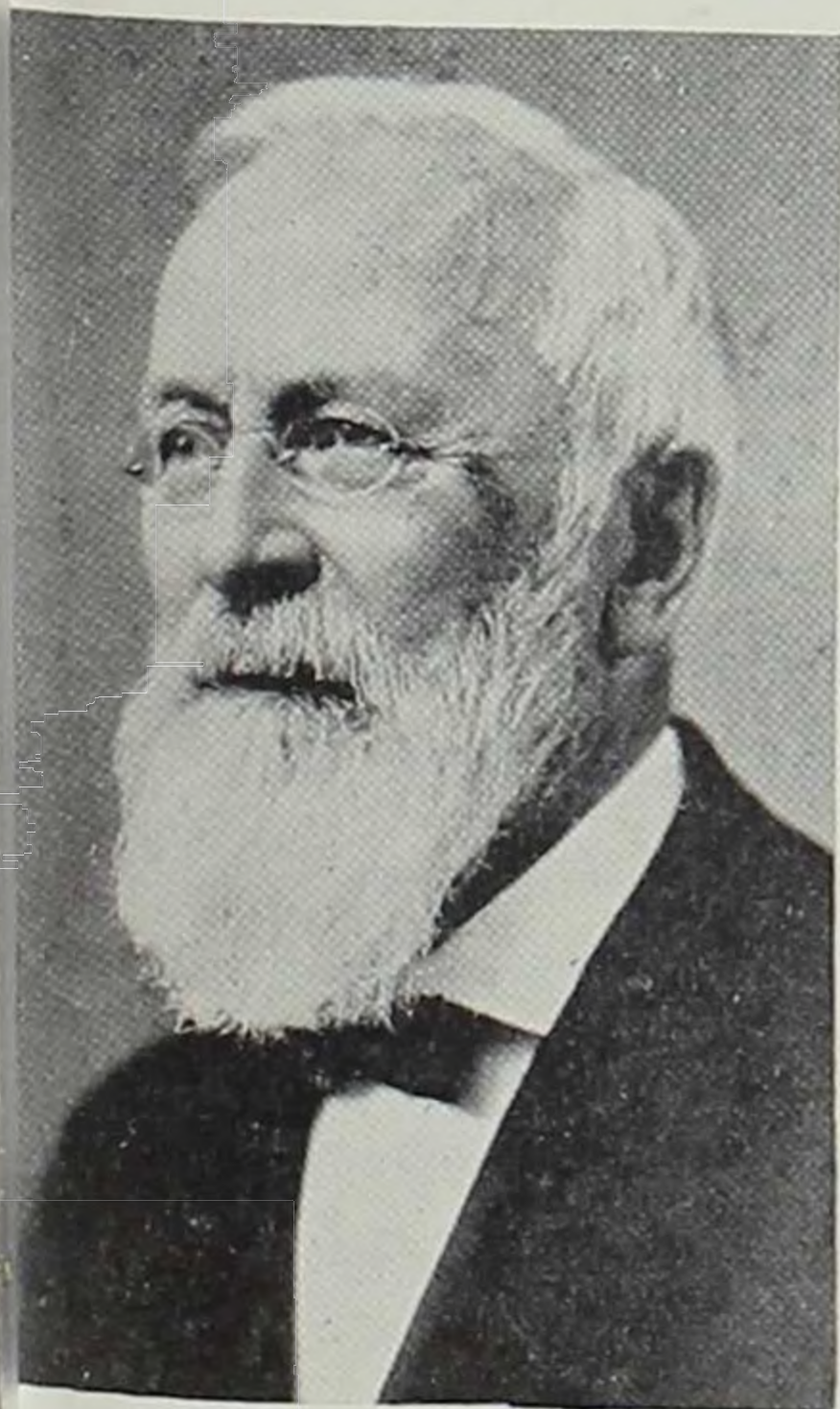
The history of the first fifty years of the Norwegian Lutheran church in America is one of dissension and passionate devotion to opposing ideals of ecclesiastical organization. These ideals,

originating in the state church of Norway and in the Haugean movement, took root immediately in the new land. However, things soon became complex. Each camp had its dissenters, and they, readily accepting the American tradition of freedom of worship, founded church groups more to their liking yet within the Lutheran confession. Unlike the Swedish Lutherans who established and remained in one church body, the Norwegians have had as many as fourteen different synods.

The Haugean sympathizers founded a synod in 1846 in Illinois. Practising lay preaching and emphasizing conversion, they were the low church group, eventually to be known as the Hauge Synod. In 1853 in Wisconsin, a few highly trained theologians, who stressed doctrine, the authority of the church, and the ecclesiastical functions of the ministerial office, organized the Norwegian Synod, the high church group. Early in the 1850's too, a third or middle-of-the-road group, made up of Norwegians and Swedes who were influenced by American church leaders formed a synod which, after some reorganization, became the Scandinavian Augustana Synod.

For the first few decades the high church group, the Synod, as it was commonly called, was pre-eminent, forging ahead under the strong leadership of a handful of men educated at the University of Christiania (Oslo). They came from fam-

ilies that had long been in the upper circles of the government and the state church, a class that vigorously opposed emigration. But these men turned their backs on security of position and the comforts of upperclass living for a hard life on the American frontier. They were dedicated men, and they were accustomed to exercising authority. It is not strange, then, that the early history of the Norwegian Lutheran church in America revolves around these figures: J. W. C. Dietrichson, C. L. Clausen, A. C. and H. A. Preus, U. V. Koren, N. O. Brandt, J. A. Ottesen, and Laur. Larsen. Even when the more moderate element in the church, the United Church Synod, rose to dominance in the 1890's, the luster of these names and the prestige of their families in church circles did not diminish.



Laur. Larsen



U. V. Koren



C. L. Clausen

Courtesy of Luther College

Although Wisconsin was the birthplace and stronghold of the Synod during its early period, Iowa became the base of operations after the Synod moved its new institution, Luther College, from Wisconsin to Decorah in 1862. For a decade Iowa had been the home of the Synod leaders, C. L. Clausen, of St. Ansgar, and U. V. Koren of Washington Prairie. With the arrival of Laur. Larsen, president of Luther College and one of the leading policy makers of the Synod, Decorah became the headquarters for Synod activities. By this time, too, a majority of the congregations were affiliated with the Synod.

The need for more pastors was ever present. Late in the 1850's the Synod turned for help to the Missouri Synod, an ultra-conservative body of German Lutherans whose seminary was in St. Louis. The Missourians agreed to train Norwegian theological students and to add to their faculty a Norwegian professor. Laur. Larsen was the first professor sent to St. Louis by the Synod. This solution, happy though it seemed at the time, was the seed for much of the controversy that flared up in the Norwegian Lutheran churches of the Middle West. The next three decades — the 1860's through the 1880's — were tempestuous and disruptive, a period during which the smaller synodical groups acquired sufficient strength to challenge the Synod's dominant position.

The first big upheaval came over the issue of

slavery. The ten-year battle that took place has, in retrospect, a quality of shadow boxing in view of the fact that the Norwegian immigrant church was a Northern church. Under the influence of the Missouri Lutherans the Synod leaders took a stand that made them *appear* to condone slavery. Actually they admitted that slavery was an evil, but they argued that it was a "sin in and by itself." This distinction the clergy of the other synods could not swallow, nor did the rank and file Norwegians, who were united in their hatred of slavery. When the Civil War broke out, they volunteered in large numbers, and while they fought on southern battlefields, the clergy fired its guns in the Norwegian American press. Appomattox came long before hostilities ended among the Norwegian Lutherans. During the fray the Synod lost strength. C. L. Clausen, always a spokesman for the people, broke ranks and with a number of followers formed a new church body called the Norwegian-Danish Conference, usually referred to as the Conference.

As the fiery slavery controversy ebbed, an older quarrel, quiescent during the war years, came to the fore again: the American common school versus the Norwegian parochial school. Since its early years the Synod had tried to promote a parochial system of education as a means of keeping the immigrants firmly Lutheran and Norwegian. To them the American common school was

corrupting, godless and inefficient. But from the start the immigrants were grateful that a school, open to everyone, existed in their settlements. Furthermore, they felt that they could not bear the financial burden of supporting both public and parochial schools. So while church and lay leaders argued caustically in the press for two decades, the settlers quietly sent their children to the district school.

A gradual distrust of the "Missourians," as the Synod leaders were called, spread through clerical and lay circles, a distrust based partly on honest theological differences, partly on class differences. This heightened to open rebellion when the argument over predestination, the Great Debate of the 1880's, showed clearly that the Synod and the St. Louis German theologians were doctrinally as one. In 1887 fifty-five ministers formed the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood, and with their secession the power of the mighty Synod was broken.

The laity followed the debates in the church periodicals with keen interest, arguing with each other as heatedly as did the clergy. People were identified by the "church" party to which they adhered; conflicting loyalties separated families; congregations dismissed pastors and switched synodical allegiances. Typical of this were three congregations in the Norway-Marion area of Clayton County. They had been served by Sy-

nod pastors for three decades, but when the split over predestination came, all three voted to go with the Anti-Missourians.

In 1890 three middle-of-the-road church bodies merged, becoming the largest of the Norwegian bodies, the United Norwegian Lutheran Synod (United Church). In Iowa 113 congregations belonged to the new body, 47 to the battle-scarred Synod, and 17 to the Hauge Synod. In towns like Eagle Grove it was not uncommon to find two or even three Norwegian Lutheran congregations, each belonging to a different synod, each struggling to maintain its church property, each inadequately supporting a pastor and his family.

Eventually the common national heritage helped to heal old wounds, and in 1917 the three synods united to form the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. In 1946 this body became the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America; 78,000 of its million members live in Iowa.

The Church in Daily Life

We have been concerned largely with the political side of the church the Norwegians founded on American soil. Its socio-religious importance in day-to-day existence is also part of the story. During the first years on the frontier settlers gathered for services in someone's cabin. They counted themselves lucky when a minister visited the settlement, administered the Lord's Supper, and baptized their children. Itinerant lay preachers passed

through, exciting their fears of hell, their sense of sin in hot-worded sermons.

The first churches were built of logs or stone, the settlers doing much of the labor themselves, fashioning a crude altar, pulpit, and benches. After some years, they built frame churches with high, pointed steeples mounted with a cross. These white churches, a cemetery on one side, a grove of trees and hitching posts on the other, are characteristic landmarks across the northern counties where Iowa's Norwegians have lived for most of a century.

At first the churches were used only for Sunday worship. When, as early as the 1870's in some communities, the women of the congregation organized a *Kvindeforening* (Ladies Aid Society), they met in the homes, but later as the group enlarged they moved to the basement of the church. Most congregations had an *Ungdomsforening* (Young People's Society), and some, particularly in the country churches, a *Pigeforening* (Girls' Society). A more recent development are the men's clubs.

Though their objectives were to advance Christian education, these societies with their oyster suppers and bazaars, also filled social needs. Some older members of the congregations deplored the change that made the church a social center. Speaking of bake sales and bazaars, one of them said to me, "There should be no buying and sel-

ling in the church." Then he shook his head sadly and added, "Children are now allowed to play games in the churchyard, too."

In pioneer days one pastor served numerous congregations simultaneously, travelling almost constantly. During part of the 1860's U. V. Koren, who came to his parish at Washington Prairie on his 27th birthday and died there three days before his 84th birthday, was serving ten congregations at the same time. Later the pattern was that the minister lived in town, served a congregation there and two or so in the country. Not only was the need for pastors greater than the supply, but few congregations could single-handedly support the exuberantly-sized minister's family. His housing, of course, was furnished; the farm folk frequently brought eggs, chickens, and, at butchering time, fresh meat to the preacher's kitchen. Despite limited cash incomes, the pastors' families dressed well; sons and daughters attended the academies and colleges of the church; occasionally a family journeyed to Norway. The pastors bought books, subscribed to periodicals. Many were prolific writers; some were amateur scholars. Often in their declining years they wrote histories of their families, their congregations, or memoirs of pioneer days.

The strength of this once Norwegian Lutheran church lies in towns and rural areas. Sixty-two per cent of its 78,000 members live on farms and

in towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants. During the decade 1944-1954 seven new congregations were organized in Iowa, four of them in villages, the others in Ames, Cedar Rapids, and Des Moines. Whatever traces it has of its Norwegian origin are most noticeable in the rural congregations, where occasional services in the Norwegian language still draw a few older listeners, who always exchange greetings in their native tongue.

In urban areas the Americanization of this church is virtually complete. Among Iowa cities only Sioux City and Mason City have significantly large congregations belonging to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and in their memberships there are many national backgrounds. Trinity Lutheran Church in Mason City has three thousand members, among whom two dozen were born in Norway; nine in Denmark; five in Russia; two each in Sweden, Germany, and Canada, and one each in Czechoslovakia and England.

Old churches are being replaced by strikingly modern structures. The pastors, in the past somewhat aloof from community life, now participate in civic projects. Their parishioners work with fellow Republicans who are Methodist, with Rotarians who are Baptist, with school board members who are Presbyterian; their favorite golf partners may be Catholic and Episcopalian. The old-time self-imposed isolation of the Norwegian Lutherans is a thing of the past.

Educational Institutions

Between 1852 and 1903 Norwegians founded ten schools on the high school or college level in Iowa. Today only the first and the last to be founded, Luther College in Decorah and Waldorf (junior) College in Forest City are still operating, both under the aegis of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The rest of them, academies for the most part, existed precariously and briefly. By the end of World War I they had pretty much vanished from the scene.

The academies served a good purpose, however. A few thousand Iowa youth would never have gone beyond country grade school if it had not been for the energy and zeal of the Norwegians who founded and supported these schools, most of which were connected with the Lutheran church. These are the ten schools:

Augustana College and Seminary, Beloit, 1881-1890.

Bode Academy, Bode, 1887-1903.

Humboldt College, Humboldt, 1895-1914.

Jewell College, Jewell, 1893-1918.

Luther College, Decorah, 1861-

St. Ansgar Seminary, St. Ansgar, 1878-1910.

Salem Seminary, Springfield, 1876-1878.

Stavanger Boarding School, Le Grand, 1891-1914.

Valder Business College and Normal School, Decorah, 1888-1923.

Waldorf College, Forest City, 1903-

Luther College

The presence of Luther College in Decorah has

given Iowa Norwegians a significance far out of proportion to their numbers. Some of the ablest minds among the Norwegian Americans of the 19th century and some of the most dedicated promoters of Norwegian culture in America have been connected with Luther College, or, because of the college, have lived in Decorah. Woven through Norwegian American history are names like Koren, Larsen, Preus, Brandt, Ylvisaker, Ottesen, Reque, Bothne, and Stub — all of whom were linked to this college community. To this campus have come famous visitors from Norway — novelists, statesmen, scholars. The King of Norway has honored many of the community's citizens with knighthood.

Luther College was started in 1861 in the Wisconsin parsonage of Professor Laur. Larsen. U. V. Koren secured a permanent site for the school as well as temporary quarters in Decorah, and in 1862 the college thus came to be located in Iowa. The aim of the college was clearly set forth in a document deposited in the cornerstone of the "Old Main" building in 1863:

Emigrated Norwegians, Lutheran Christians, living in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Illinois, united in erecting this building to educate teachers of the Church, through whose ministry, by the grace of our Lord, the saving truth of the Gospel in Word and Sacraments might be preserved for their descendants unadulterated according to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran

Church as set forth in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. The Lord grant this. Amen.

The school was modelled after the Norwegian Latin School and the German *gymnasium*. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and courses in Christianity, Lutheran doctrine, and church history formed the backbone of the students' education. History courses, general and Scandinavian, and the German language were also in the curriculum. Little attention was paid to mathematics and science. These subjects were gradually included during the 1890's and thereafter, but generally speaking during the forty-year presidency of Laur. Larsen the curriculum remained severely classical.

Throughout the 1860's and 1870's the college was, likewise, thoroughly "Norwegian." President Larsen recruited a small but singularly well-trained faculty, many from Norway. Almost all instruction was conducted in Norwegian, as was general conversation. Among the students, however, English steadily gained ground. When Andrew Veblen came to the campus as a Latin teacher in 1877, he observed that English and Norwegian were both used among the boys, except on the baseball diamond where they spoke English. "It was the chief sport cultivated at L. C." he wrote, "and I believe one is justified in crediting the gradual Americanization of the College partly to . . . this, the national game."

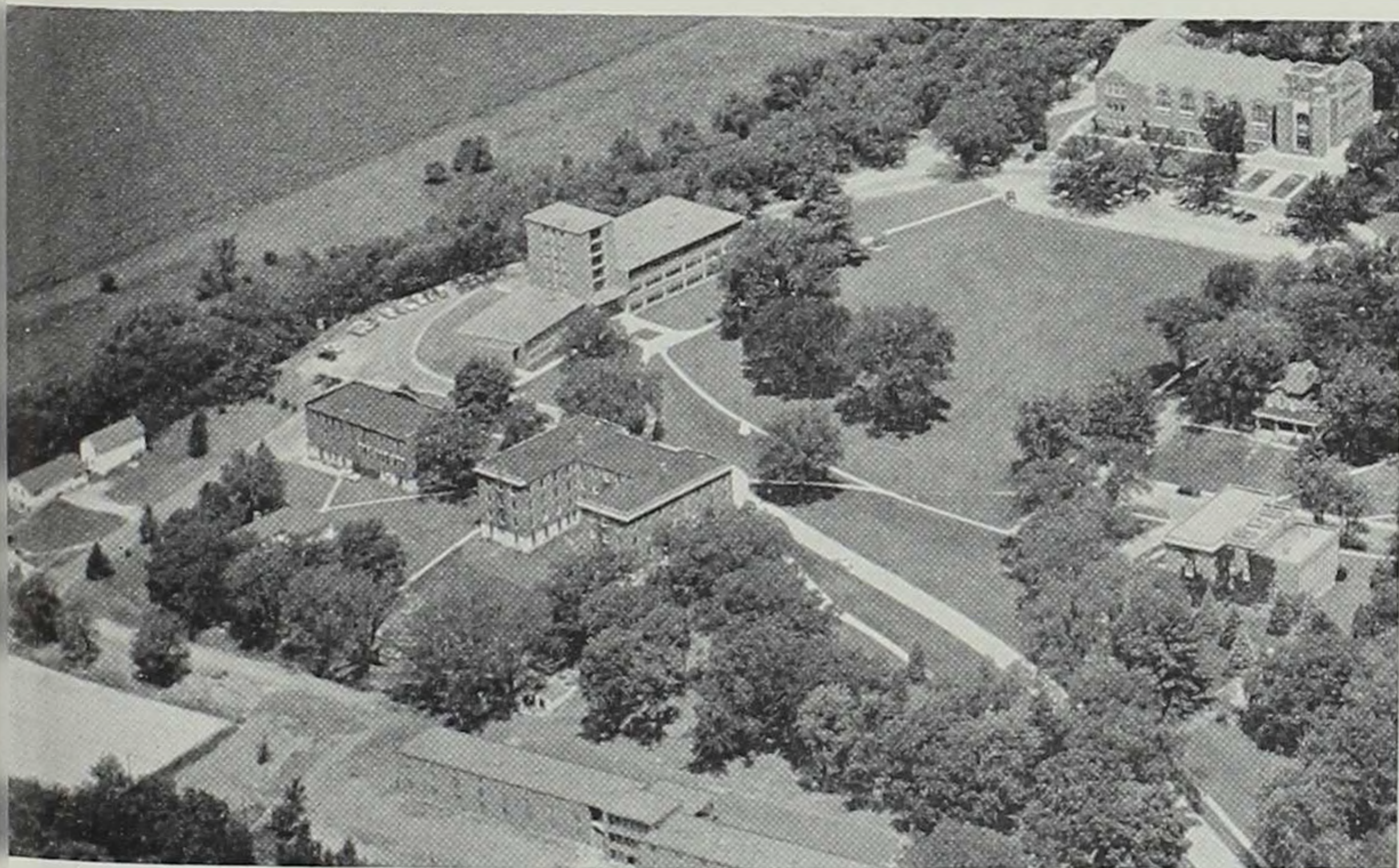
By the 1880's English had practically displaced

Norwegian. The students made it their official language when they started a college paper in 1884 and declared in its first issue: "English is now unquestionably the reigning language at Luther College. . . . We are citizens of America, and the more Americanized we can become the better."

President Larsen's retirement in 1902 brought no immediate changes. The new president, Christian K. Preus, son of one of the founders of the Norwegian Synod, had absorbed the conservative traditions of the circle of families that had set the tone of the Synod and the college from the beginning. The prevailing educational pattern, however, gradually forced the college to broaden its curriculum, and courses in the sciences, economics, sociology, and psychology were added. Nevertheless, the strength of the institution still lay in the humanistic disciplines.

When President Preus died in 1921, he was succeeded by Dr. Oscar L. Olson, a professor of English literature at the college since 1901. He served until 1932, advocating during his presidency that the college become co-educational to compete more successfully with other institutions. Ove Jacob Hjort Preus, son of C. K. Preus, was Luther's president from 1932 to 1948 during the difficult period of the depression and World War II. To ease financial problems the institution in 1936 became co-educational, a fortunate step in

view of the manless years that were soon to strike all colleges.



Aerial View of Luther College

Alumni, fiercely proud of their alma mater, were dismayed when the doors were opened to the sweater and skirt brigade. Many were the traditions that never could be shared with any but Luther men, be it tales of the "Chicken Coop," their famous Concert Band, or their crackerjack baseball teams. By now the shock has worn off. Luther College is a well-organized co-educational institution. Under the guidance of President J. W. Ylvisaker, the college has a yearly enrollment of about 950 men and women students, over 80

per cent of whom come from Lutheran homes in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

Unlike other American colleges that were founded by Protestant church bodies, Luther College has not loosened its ties with the church. While the strongly religious atmosphere of bygone decades has inevitably been tempered, religion is important in the life of both faculty and students. There is daily chapel, usually devotional in character. Religious organizations are significant in extracurricular activities. Church politics are discussed among the faculty. As in the old days, who is getting what post in the church hierarchy or at the church schools is still "gossip" over afternoon coffee cups. But, as Bach often goes with Bartok, there is also much talk of nuclear physics, modern art and civil rights cases. For now, as in the days of Lincoln and McKinley, the faculty has its full share of intellectuals alert to the issues of the day.

Interlarding all this is a pronounced enthusiasm for things Norwegian, past and present. As early as the 1890's the college began to assemble a museum collection. A few pioneer buildings were moved to the campus and restored. In 1925 the Norwegian American Museum was officially established under the administration of the college. Accredited by the Smithsonian Institution, the museum has the country's "largest and most interesting" collection of relics and materials depicting

Norwegian immigrant culture, according to Tora Bøhn, curator of Trondheim's Kunstindustrimuseum, who in 1949-50 travelled in America assessing evidences of Norwegian folk art. On the campus the Koren Library has extensive collections of Norwegian Americana; particularly valuable are files of the pioneer newspapers.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN



The Press

Decorah-Posten

Two small wagons loaded with a printing press and some household belongings jogged into Decorah one day in 1868. Atop one of the wagons was the printer and his assistant, young Brynild Anundsen and his wife. Thus the Norwegian press arrived in Iowa. Trained as a printer in Norway, Anundsen first carried on his trade in Wisconsin. Then the Norwegian Synod offered him the job of printing its publications.

He brought with him a monthly paper, *Ved Arnen* (By the Fireside). Very soon, too, he began to publish a local newspaper, *Fra Fjaernt og Naer* (From Far and Near). Readers were not lacking in the settlements thereabouts, but insufficient subscribers forced him to discontinue them in 1870. His determination did not weaken, however, and in 1874 he ventured again, this time with a 4-page weekly, *Decorah-Posten*, which sold for 50 cents a year. Little did he know that he had brought into existence a paper that was to become one of the giants in the Norwegian American press.

For a decade the paper struggled for life. The growing Norwegian Synod established its own

printing office, thereby depriving Anundsen of the financial cushion on which he had relied. Instead of folding up, he took a bold step. Deciding to make the *Decorah-Posten* more than a local paper, he increased its size and scope, raised its price to \$1.10 a year. A shrewd business man, he gave new subscribers illustrated copies of the Lord's Prayer and as a sideline sold Waterbury watches which, he told readers, could be wound by "pressing the stem down on the top of a board fence and then running about two rods." By 1882 subscriptions had risen to 7,000, but Anundsen and his family were not getting fat on the meager profits. Then in 1884 he bought the manuscript of a novel, *Husmand's-Gutten* (The Cotter's Boy), written by a Norwegian American, Hans Foss, and began publishing it serially. In a few months 6,000 new names were on the subscribers' list. The *Decorah-Posten* was on its feet.

The Norwegian American press was a powerful influence during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade or so of the twentieth. Not infrequently the editors were men of some intellectual stature. Most of the papers took a partisan stand in national politics. They were equally partisan in the intra- and inter-synodical church disputes that bedevilled Norwegian Americans. From all this the *Decorah-Posten* remained aloof. It did not enter into squabbles, either secular or ecclesiastical. A family-

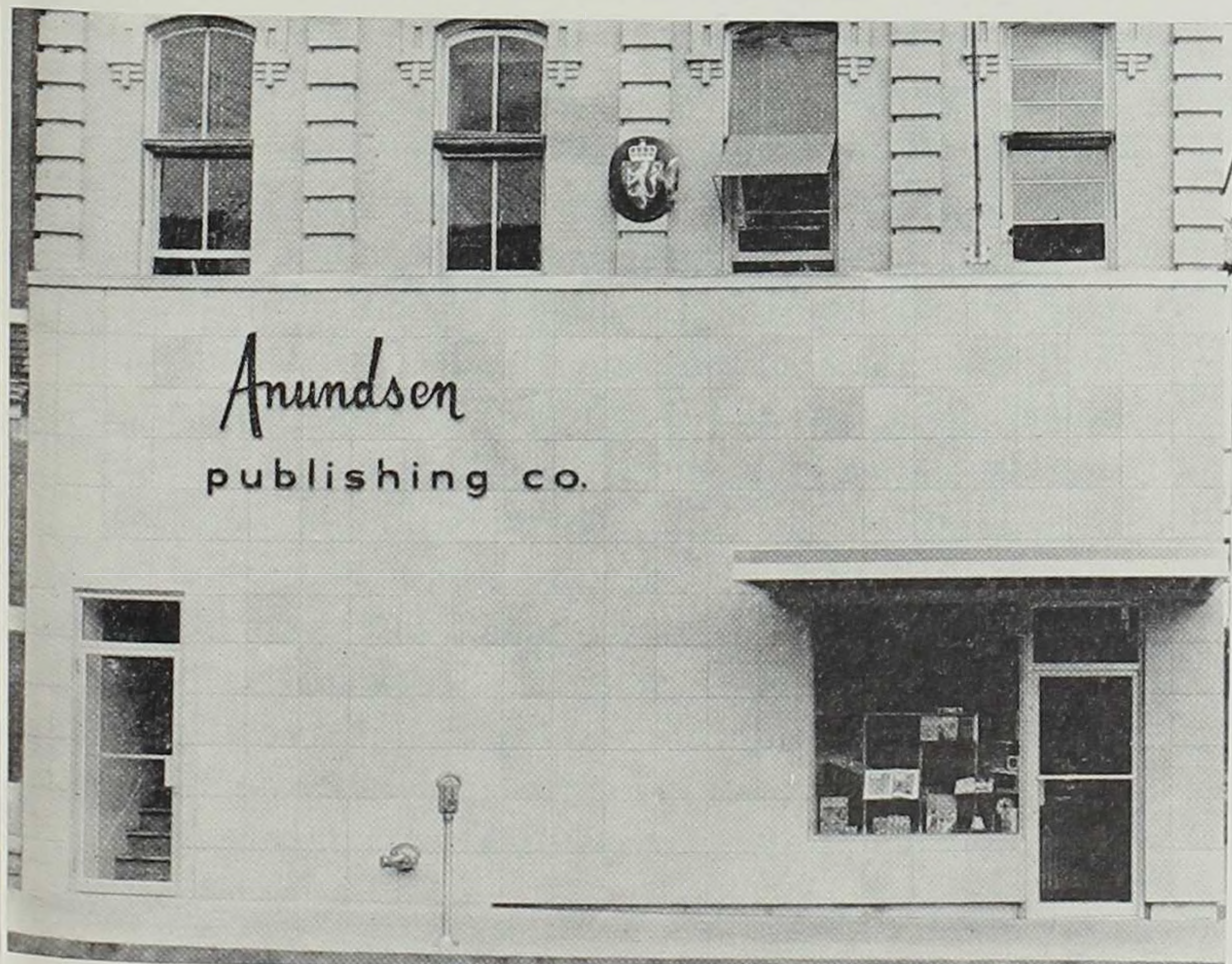
style newspaper, it appealed to all ages and was more literary than the other newspapers in the field. (After 1885 *Ved Arnen* was again published as a literary supplement.) Not only did it carry news from correspondents in America and Norway, but it encouraged readers to write letters to the paper. These letters, soon a popular feature, were chatty messages from people scattered far and wide in the Norwegian American settlements.

This homespun style is what made the *Decorah-Posten* the most widely read Norwegian paper in America and why it maintained itself long after other papers ceased publication. During the 1920's it reached its peak with 46,000 subscribers. As the older generations thinned out, subscribers decreased naturally; but the economic position of the *Posten* was so strong that it continued to flourish, purchasing in the 1930's, '40's, and '50's several of the declining papers in the Middle West. Today, with 25,000 subscribers, it is by far the largest Norwegian paper in America, the second being Brooklyn's *Nordisk Tidende* with 9,000 subscribers. Three thousand of the *Posten's* subscribers live in Norway. The *Posten* is still published by the Anundsen family, headed by B. B. Anundsen, son of the founder. A grandson, Jack Anundsen, is treasurer of the company, which, as in olden times, carries on other printing and business enterprises including a book store.



B. Anundsen

Througout its history the *Posten's* staff of editors, managers, and typesetters has been recruited from Norway for the most part, several of them serving for three to four decades in their posts. When Robert B. Bergeson retired in 1946 he had been with the paper for 46 years, starting as a bookkeeper, rising to the position of office manager, finally becoming general manager after B. Anundsen's death in 1913.



Photos courtesy Anundsen Publishing Co.

From the 1870's until the turn of the century a Luther College professor, Lyder Siewers, was editor of the paper. During the next two decades editorial matters were in the hands of Johannes B. Wist and his co-editor, Kristian Prestgard, leaders of a flourishing literary circle. Under their editorship a literary journal, *Symra*, was published from 1905 to 1914, certainly the best of its kind to appear among the Norwegians in America. In 1923 Prestgard became editor-in-chief, continuing until his death in 1946. Since that time Einar Lund has guided the editorial course of *Decorah-Posten*, retaining its conservative format and the flavor of a bygone era in its language and contents. In 1956 Arne C. Myhre, from Oslo, Norway, formerly freelance journalist and editor of a trade union paper, was named associate editor.

Other Newspapers and Periodicals

Close to fifty Norwegian serial publications, both secular and religious, have appeared in Iowa, well over half originating in Decorah. Among numerous religious periodicals, *Kirketidende*, the weekly magazine of the Norwegian Synod, edited by President Larsen of Luther College, was the most significant.

The second center of press activities was Story City. About 1890 a group of Scandinavians organized the Scandia Publishing Company with an ambitious publication program of Norwegian and Swedish materials. A Swedish newspaper, *Nya*

Verlden (New World), was moved from Minneapolis to the Story City firm. The company also published a monthly journal, *Norsk-Amerikansk Musiktidende*, and choir books. By the mid-nineties the company, however, had died.

During the same period Story City had three newspapers. L. J. Tjernagel, a member of a family that did much to advance the cultural life of the community, edited and published an excellent weekly paper, *Vor Republik* (Our Republic). Less sophisticated but very popular was Gustav Amlund's weekly, *Skolen og Hjemmet* (School and Home), which appeared from 1891 to 1896. More important than either of these was *Visergutten* (The Message Boy), started by Amlund in 1893. From a small local paper he developed it into an organ of correspondence. Thousands of immigrants and their relatives in Norway used the columns of *Visergutten* for communicating with one another. For twenty-five years Story City was this newspaper's home.

For ten years, 1887-1897, the Norwegian colony in Sioux City had a weekly newspaper, although from time to time changes in its name, owners, and politics occurred. It first appeared as the Sioux City *Tilskuer* (Spectator), published by A. M. Olmen and Company, then for a time was called *Vesterheimen* (Home in the West), and lastly the Sioux City *Tidende* (Times). For two years, 1889-1891, under the management of

O. M. Levang the paper was Democratic. Bought by John Story in 1891, the paper became Republican. After 1897 Sioux Citians no longer had a paper, for in that year the *Tidende* passed into different hands, moved to Lake Mills and became *Republikaneren* (The Republican). In 1903 it died.



Ida Hansen

Cedar Rapids, by no means a Norwegian center, nevertheless is of some importance in the story of the press because of two indomitable Norwegian-born sisters, Mrs. Ida Hansen and Miss Mina Jensen. Ida's husband, Nels Frederick Hansen, was a newspaper man who in the early 1880's published a Danish paper in Davenport. The Hansens moved to Cedar Rapids and in 1884 started an illustrated monthly family magazine, *Fra alle Lande* (From all Lands), later publishing it fortnightly. They set type in the Hansen home and had it printed by an American printer. During this time Mina Jensen learned to set type; Ida wrote a woman's column for the paper. But it did not provide a living for them, and Hansen was forced to give it up in 1888.

Left with type and time on their hands, the women launched a woman's magazine, *Kvinden og Hjemmet* (Woman and Home), for Norwegian and Danish readers. Again Ida provided the contents, while Mina set type in their home. By carriage they took their magazine to the printer, a strange sight to the men in the shop who were unaccustomed to seeing women in this business.

KVINDEN OG HJEMMET

WOMAN AND HOME
SCANDINAVIAN



EN SOMMERDAG PÅ SØEN.

AR RAPIDS,
IOWA.

MAY 1947

VOLUME LVIV.
No. 5.

Soon they set up their own printing shop. In 1893 they began a Swedish edition, *Kvinnan och Hemmet*. These two, the only women's magazines in the United States published in those languages, had 80,000 subscribers in America and Scandinavia during their most flourishing period. After Ida Hansen died, her son, Warren Hansen, carried on the publishing company founded by his father. The magazines were edited by Mrs. Ida Manville, niece of the first editor. In 1948, sixty years after *Kvinden og Hjemmet* first appeared, the magazines ceased publication.

Quantitatively, Iowa's Norwegian newspapers and periodicals are far below that of neighboring states, as is her population. Although many of these publications were fugitive in character, a few emerged to take an honored place in the history of the Norwegian press in America.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

Politics

The immigrants brought to America a sturdy tradition of political interest and a familiarity with the fundamentals of local self-government. Politics, next to religion, was their chief source of intellectual stimulation. Reaching the Middle West earlier than the Swedes and Danes, and greatly outnumbering them in the formative period of the midwestern states, the Norwegians gained a political foothold, an advantage which the other groups never overcame. Among the legislators elected to the General Assembly in the past century, Norwegians have outnumbered Swedes more than two to one and Danes more than three to one. To Congress Iowans have sent three men of Norwegian stock, one Swede, and one Dane.

Local Government

The Norwegians came to unoccupied regions, settled in compact groups, and almost immediately had a hand in organizing township government. When, for example, the first election in Logan township, Winnebago County, was held in the 1870's, seven Norwegians were elected to posts.

Election to county offices came more slowly. Americans at first held the key posts, but when they rose to judgeships or went to the legislature,

immigrants began to move into the courthouse. One of the first to hold office was Erick Anderson, leader of a party of Norwegians to Winneshiek County in 1850. He was elected sheriff in 1858 and until 1873 was succeeded by other Norwegians. G. T. Lommen was elected treasurer of the county in 1869. In Worth County, Norwegians were elected to the board of supervisors as early as 1861, in the mid 'seventies to the offices of recorder and treasurer. In Winnebago County the same thing was happening.

Americans continued to hold the offices of engineer, coroner, attorney, and superintendent of schools until around 1900. Then with the rising educational level of the immigrants' children these offices, too, came to the Norwegians. Clara B. Olson was superintendent of the Winnebago County schools from 1929 to 1949. Norwegian-born Ole T. Naglestad was Woodbury's county attorney from 1914 to 1930.

State Government

The first representative from the Norwegian settlements to make his appearance in the Iowa legislature was the Lutheran pastor, C. L. Clausen, who founded St. Ansgar. In 1856 he was nominated for the Iowa house of representatives from the 46th district, comprising Winneshiek, Howard, Winnebago, Worth, and Mitchell counties. In accepting the nomination, he wrote in the Norwegian American newspaper *Emigranten*:

My chief consideration is the hope of uniting all our countrymen here in Northern Iowa in the Republican party; for the realization of whose principles I, with God's help, entertain the only hope for checking the further spread of slavery and for preserving our free republican institutions from destruction. Thus far my hope has not been in vain and as far as my election is concerned that seems quite certain, even though I have encountered no little opposition due to local differences of opinion. I also consider it almost certain that the whole Republican ticket will win in this district.

Clausen won over his opponent, George H. Shannon, by a wide margin and attended the session that assembled in Iowa City for the last time. He did not stand for re-election in 1858. In 1867 Governor Stone designated him to represent the state at the Universal Exposition in Paris. In the 1870's he again served the state when the governor appointed him to the board of immigration.

The second Norwegian to make his way to the Iowa assembly was Ole Nelson from Winneshiek County. He was born in Norway and had lived for seven years in Iowa when he came to the ninth General Assembly in January, 1862. From legislative documents we learn that he was 22 years old, weighed 140 pounds, had no boarding place in Des Moines, was a Lutheran, and that his "condition in life" was "single," but we are not informed of his party affiliation! He was re-elected in 1863. In the 1870's three Norwegians served in the legislature, all from Winneshiek

County; during the 1880's, five, and in the 1890's, six, always representing the heavily Norwegian counties from the northern part of the state. The number continued to increase after 1900. As later generations take over, the task of spotting Norwegian backgrounds becomes more difficult. Nevertheless, it is clear that the peak of "Norwegian" representation came between the mid-twenties and mid-thirties when each General Assembly had about a dozen men of this background.

Altogether over the past century some eighty to ninety members of the legislature have come from this sector of Iowa's population. Twenty were Norwegian-born. Farm and small town business interests form the occupational backgrounds of the majority of the legislators, though one finds a scattering of lawyers, teachers, and ministers. Party affiliation is heavily Republican. Only about 8 per cent have been Democrats. About a fifth of the entire group has served in the senate.

Election to the governorship has never come to anyone of Norwegian descent, but the chair has been occupied by an Iowan whose father came from Norway in 1871 and whose maternal grandmother came in the 1850's. Leo Elthon, who was born in Fertile, was elected to the state senate in 1933 and after two decades in this post was elected lieutenant governor in 1952. He was serving in this office at the time of Governor William Beardsley's death in November, 1954, and sub-

sequently acted as governor until January, 1955.

Rollo Bergeson, deputy secretary of state, 1938 to 1941, and secretary of state, 1946 to 1948, belongs to the third generation of a politically-inclined family. His grandparents came to Iowa from Stavanger, Norway. His father, Berges Bergeson, was elected to the state legislature from Palo Alto County in 1906, serving one term. A brother, Emlin Bergeson, was appointed to the state tax commission for a six-year term beginning July, 1956.

Gilbert S. Gilbertson, after a term in the senate, was elected state treasurer in 1900 and served until 1907. His parents came from Norway.

National Government

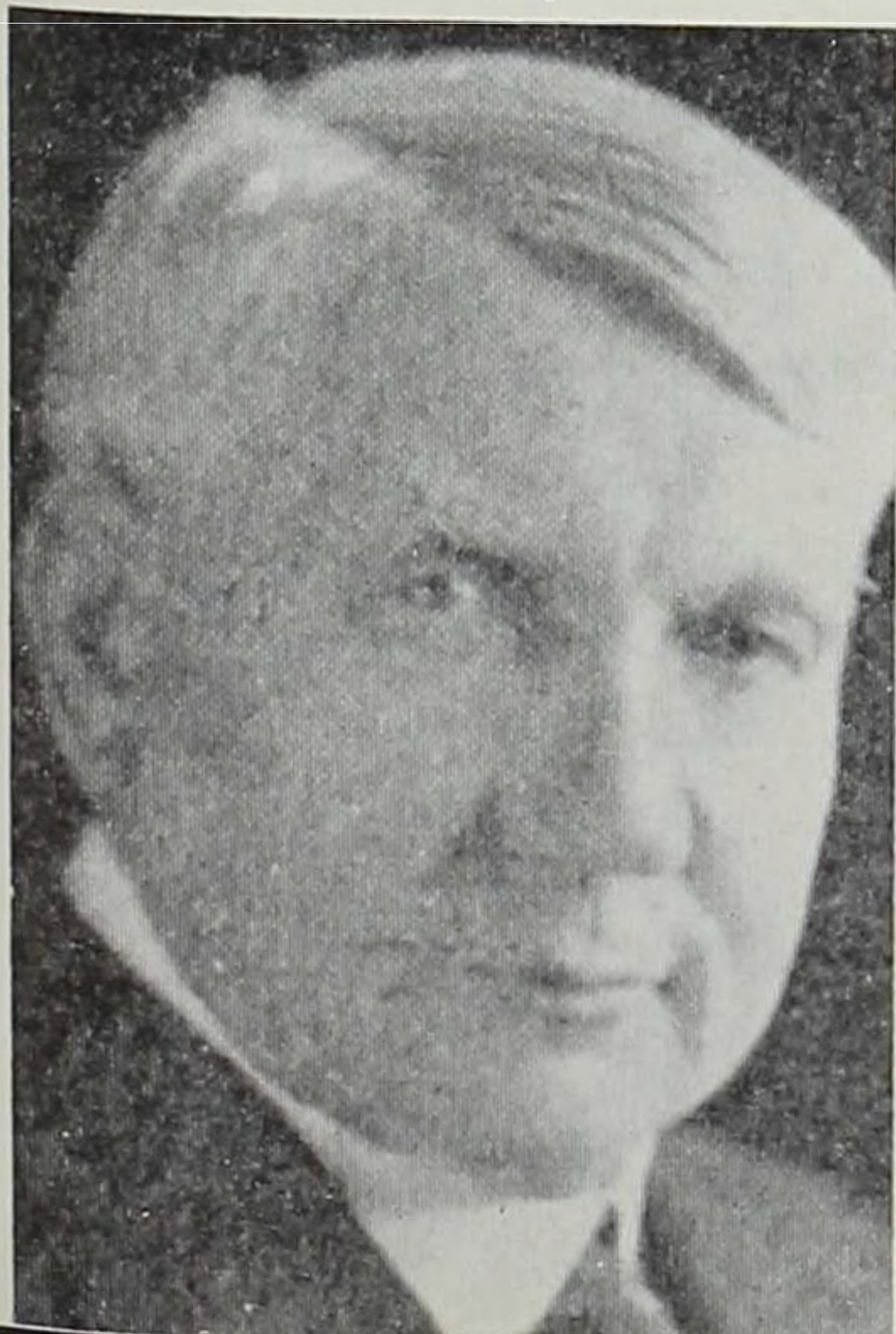
For over half a century, 1898 to 1958, Iowa's northeastern counties, the fourth congressional district — since 1941 the second district — have sent to congress men of Norwegian background. Only three have served over this long period, two Republicans and one Democrat.

The first to be elected from this area was Gilbert N. Haugen of Northwood. Born in Wisconsin, he came to Iowa with his immigrant parents. He acquired large landholdings in Worth County, established banks, a livestock and implement business. His political career began in 1887 as a county treasurer; for two years he served in the state legislature. Winning the congressional seat for the fourth district in 1898, he moved onto

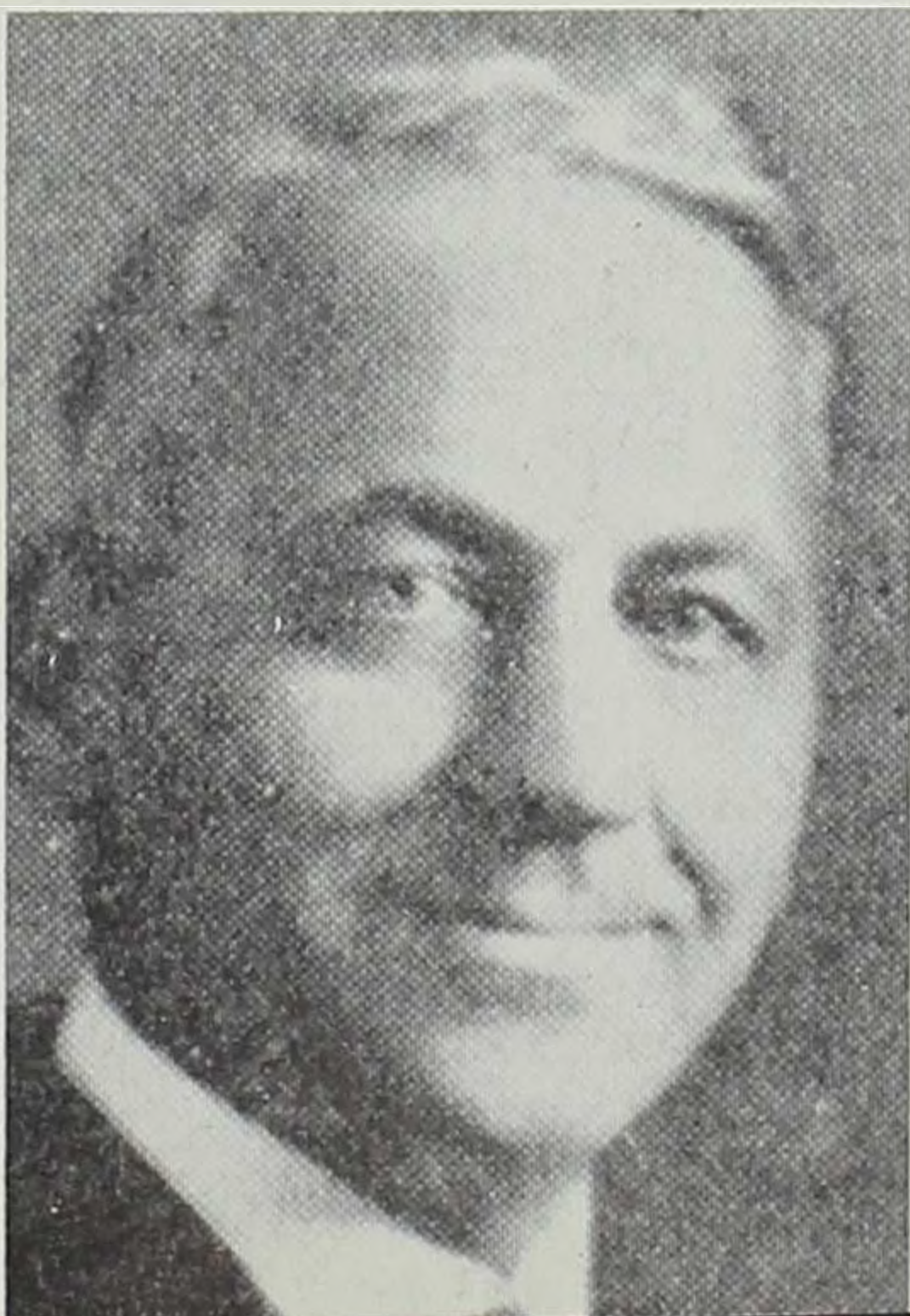
the national scene and for the next thirty-four years served continuously in the house of representatives, the longest term of any Iowan in congress. His major contribution came through his membership on the committee on agriculture, whose chairman he was from 1919 to 1931. He introduced scores of bills concerned with protection and relief of the farmer. The one that has gone down in the annals of American history is the McNary-Haugen bill. In the Democratic landslide of 1932 Haugen was defeated, losing all the counties of his district. He died in 1933.

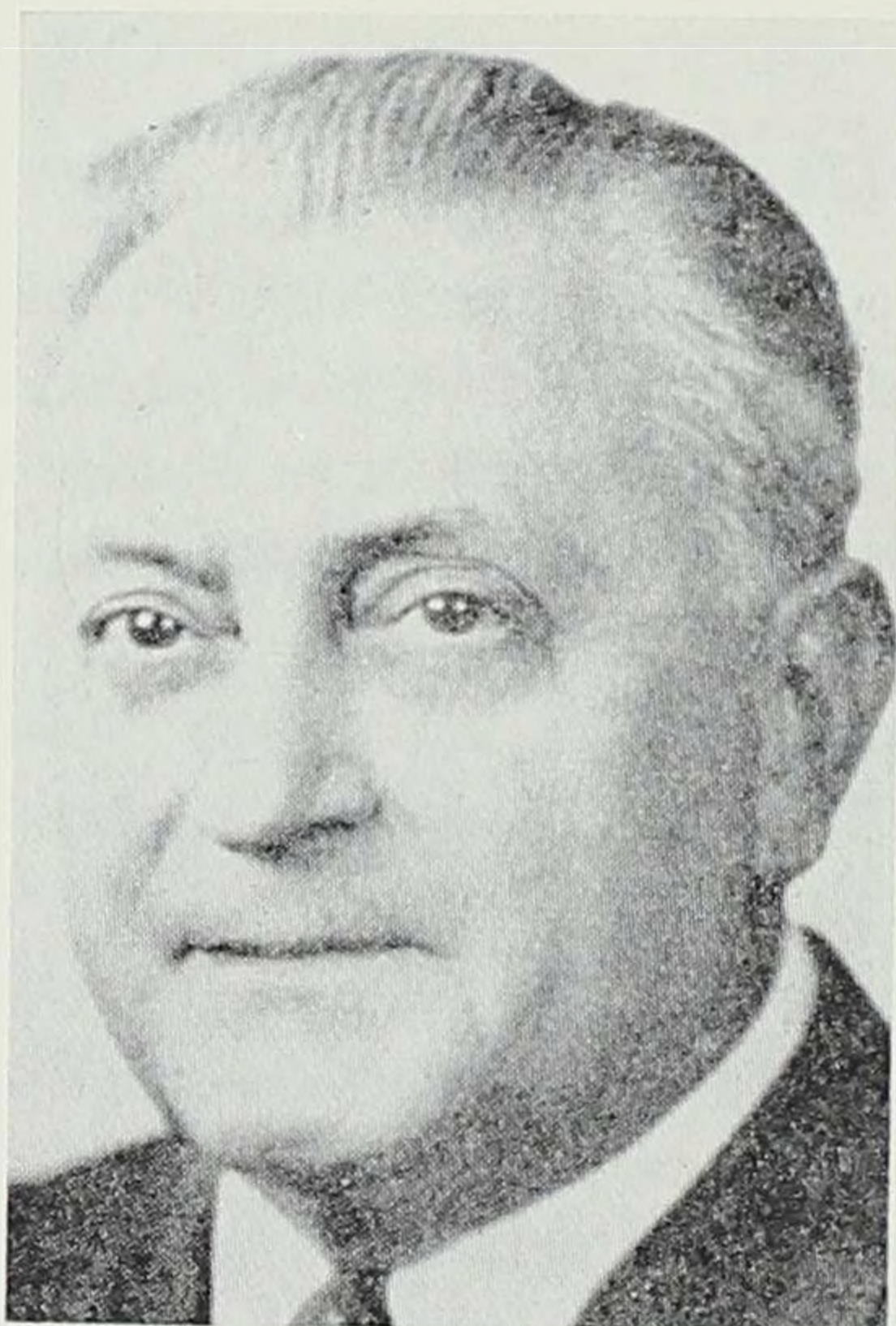
The new Democratic representative from the fourth district was Frederick E. Biermann, editor and publisher of the *Decorah Journal* and for many years one of Iowa's prominent Democrats. His Norwegian-born father and uncle had been active in Minnesota politics. For six years he served in congress. In the election of 1938 his Republican opponent, Henry O. Talle, an eco-

G. N. Haugen



F. E. Biermann





H. O. Talle

nomics professor at Luther College, won by four thousand votes out of a total of 93,000. During his twenty-year congressional career Talle had top rank on three committees, banking and currency, joint economic, and joint committee on defense production. His defeat in 1958 marked the end of the "Norwegian" line.

Party Preferences

The Norwegians have been loyal Republicans. Lincoln, slavery, and the Homestead Act were compelling reasons for identification with this party when they first came in large numbers to Iowa between 1860 and '70. There were dissenters, of course, but the comment of the editor of Estherville's *Northern Vindicator*, in 1872, covered most of Iowa's Norwegian voters: "The Norwegians of this county being an intelligent, reading people, are reported to us as — with few exceptions — solid for Grant. They are nearly all Republicans. . . ."

The fourth district congressional election of 1888 furnishes some evidence of the sentiment of the Norwegian voter. The Democratic candidate was a Norwegian, Professor Lars S. Reque of Luther College; the Republican was Joseph H.

Sweney of Osage. In a campaign directed at Norwegian voters the Republican press, the Decorah *Republican* in particular, attacked the Democratic candidate by interviewing outstanding Republican Norwegians in the district, printing their replies, column after column, to the effect that though Mr. Reque was a fine upstanding man whom they liked personally, they would not forsake their political principles to vote for him.

The Republican candidate won in seven out of ten counties in the district. Reque may have picked up some Norwegian Republican votes, for his score was higher in the district than were those for other Democrats, including the presidential candidate, Grover Cleveland. By and large, the election showed that among the Norwegians party loyalty was stronger than the national tie.

In the state elections of 1889 and 1891 when Iowans elected a Democratic governor, Horace Boies, we find that in twenty counties where Norwegian voters were significant only six in 1889 and eight in 1891 went Democratic. Winneshiek, showing a slight preference for the Republican candidate in 1889, edged across the line in 1891. A breakdown to the township level there shows that the Democratic victory came from townships which were predominantly Bohemian, German, and Irish, from which we can infer that the Norwegians voted, once again, Republican. The strong Norwegian counties, Story, Winnebago,

Worth, Mitchell, Humboldt, Wright, and Emmet were lopsidedly Republican.

The Populist movement in the 'nineties did not attract the Norwegian voters. The minor support the movement had in Iowa came from southern and western counties, which had not been settled by Norwegians. In the presidential election of 1912, when the Republican vote was split between regulars and progressives, Woodrow Wilson carried Iowa, but the above twenty counties showed a decided preference for the Progressive candidate, Theodore Roosevelt.

The "Norwegians" (by this time the term has a figurative meaning — they are Americans) trudged loyally along with the Republican party until the depression. In 1932 all twenty counties, except Story, swung into the Democratic stream and stayed there in 1936, joined then by Story. In 1940 and 1944 nine counties had returned to Republican pastures, but in 1948 Truman drew three of them back to the Democrats when he won the state. In 1952 and again in 1956 Eisenhower captured all of the twenty counties handsomely.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN

